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# RURAL SOCIOLOGY

*Devoted to Scientific Study of Rural Life*

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VOLUME I

1936

NUMBERS 1-4

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*Rural Sociology*

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# Greetings from Charles Josiah Galpin

WASHINGTON, D. C.

FEBRUARY, 1936.

**I**T GIVES ME a peculiar thrill of pleasure to break a bottle of rare good luck over the beak of this little ship. Here goes,—May you, my eager young bark, slide smoothly down the ways, into the troughs of the social seas. Join fearlessly the flotilla of sociological texts, bulletins of research, learned articles, vociferous speeches, trig lectures, clipper broadcasts, hot activities, busy fellowships, and proudly float a modest cargo of rural goods into many a port for many a year.

To one who has witnessed the small beginnings of Rural Sociology rather rapidly rounding into form of late as a science, this quarterly review is an exciting pleasure, being a fulfillment of long expectation, for some time now overdue. I am quite sure that those virile, early protagonists of an abounding rural life—Charles R. Henderson, Kenyon L. Butterfield, Sir Horace Plunkett—would, if living today, add their Godspeed to the launching of this new carrier of rural truth. Professor Henderson, whom I first knew as a stalwart Detroit humanitarian, later, while a sociologist at the University of Chicago, giving a course in Rural Sociology (the first such course, I believe, in the United States), one day in a national committee meeting on social service, confided to me in a whisper of thinly disguised delight that he was writing a text on Rural Sociology—a text which, as it turned out, he was never to finish. Sir Horace Plunkett a few months before his demise, in a letter from the home of his exile a few miles outside of London, wrote me that “on the sly” he was—unbeknown to his physician—penning away at a work which should set forth his ripest thoughts on “better rural

living"—a work which, unfortunately, he had not the strength to complete.

Upon the other younger shoulders falls the mantle of these eminent forerunners of a better day in American agriculture and their unfinished tasks are left for completion to the young men and women who year by year will be lading this journal with a mass of fact, interpretation, theory, and piloting its onward course. That the rural sociologists of today, to whom for a few swift years is entrusted the fate of a precious science, can possess, carry, and hand on the spirit of rural truth-finding, I do not for one instant doubt. All I need, at any time of wavering, to reassure me on this point is to call to mind my never-to-be-forgotten intimate acquaintance with the early struggles and triumphs of these young leaders, in the field of rural research and authorship. How fitting, moreover, it is that the underwriter of this scientific undertaking in behalf of the millions engaged in agriculture should be a university situated in a section of the nation that contains so large a part of the farm population! I cannot restrain myself from inwardly cheering as I watch this venturesome craft putting out to sea, manned by such youth and backed by such a sponsor.

CHARLES JOSIAH GALPIN.

## Statement of the Editorial Board

THE PUBLICATION of *Rural Sociology* grew out of action taken at the meeting of the Rural Sociology Section of the American Sociological Society, in New York in December, 1935. After three hours of vigorous discussion of the necessity for and possibilities of a rural sociological journal, a committee was named to consider the question of publication media and was authorized to take such action as it deemed advisable. This committee met promptly, and unanimously agreed to proceed with the publication of a quarterly. The decision was partly influenced by the suggestion of Dean Fred C. Frey, of Louisiana State University, that his institution might be willing to underwrite the venture. When it was presented to them, the University officials promptly agreed to the proposition of guaranteeing the publication.

Accordingly, an Editorial Board and a Managing Editor were selected. The duties of the Managing Editor are those usually associated with such a position, including the responsibility for all fiscal matters connected with publication, the handling of necessary correspondence, obtaining subscriptions, receiving manuscripts and forwarding them to the members of the Editorial Board, and looking after the details of the physical form of the journal. Final responsibility for approving manuscripts for the journal rests with the Editorial Board. At least three members of the Board will read and approve each manuscript.

The purpose of the journal is to afford an additional medium of expression for scholars in the field of Rural Sociology. The pages will not be confined exclusively to Rural Sociologists as a professional group; articles are invited from workers in related fields of social science, from teachers, and from rural workers who may contribute to the sociology of rural life. Moreover, it will be the policy to solicit manuscripts from workers in foreign countries, although it is intended that all such papers shall deal with some phase of rural social life.

One of the advantages of the journal is that it will constitute a reference where the best thought on rural life may be concentrated. However, it is not intended to be the sole medium of expression for Rural Sociology. It is hoped rather that it will stimulate greater effort, and that it will not diminish the quantity or quality of papers flowing to other sociological and economic journals.

During recent years, an unprecedented amount of rural social research has been conducted through the stimulus of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Works Progress Administration, Subsistence Homesteads, Resettlement Administration, and other emergency agencies. It is important that this material be interpreted and published. It is the hope of the Editors that they can encourage sufficient additional productivity on the part of scholars in the rural social sciences to justify the journal from this standpoint.

*Rural Sociology* stands for no special school of social thought; it is rather a forum in which any individual who has a contribution to make can present his findings. It is intended that the papers shall maintain a high standard of scholarship and logical presentation. The opinions expressed in the articles, however, are those of the authors and not those of the Editors.

It is important that the relationship of the publication with Louisiana State University be clearly understood. The University wishes to be considered merely as the guarantor of the enterprise and not as the official publisher. It is not assuming responsibility for the content of the journal, but naturally the University officials have a right to expect that the publication will be a credit to the field of social science, and that it will maintain a high standard of quality in the papers which are presented. Responsibility for the maintenance of these standards is assumed entirely by the Editorial Board.

Furthermore, it should be made clear that the undertaking of this publication by the Rural Sociology Section does not in any way affect the relations of the rural group with the American Sociological Society. While subscriptions will be solicited independent of the parent society,

official membership in the Rural Sociology Section will continue to involve membership in the American Sociological Society. It is entirely possible that the work of the journal may be instrumental in increasing the membership in the parent society; the Editors sincerely hope that this may be one of the results.

Suggestions for improving the journal are cordially invited by the Editors.

Board of Editors:

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# National Policy and Rural Public Welfare

*E. L. Morgan*

SOCIAL WORK had its beginning in this country some seventy-five years ago with the organization of the charities for the care of the poor in Baltimore and in other cities on the East coast, where conditions were such as to create a social consciousness and an organized response to these needs.<sup>1</sup> From the original purpose of providing food, clothing, and shelter, the movement developed in purpose, program, and method, expanding until it extended to all our large cities and to most of those of the second and third class. Its program of work, based upon the use of the case method in family treatment, has been enlarged to include a number of specialized agencies to care for particular types of clients. Its method has evolved from an emotional response to one of rational procedure based upon diagnosis and treatment.

The outstanding characteristic of this movement is that it was confined to cities, while our rural population had no such provision for its problem solving. The reasons for this development as an urban movement appear to be as follows:

- (1) The urban population was so congested that the problems of poor and disadvantaged families could not escape the notice of forward-looking people.
- (2) There was some knowledge, at least on the part of a few city people, concerning the general procedure in connection with disadvan-

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was read before the Section on Rural Sociology of the American Sociological Society, New York City, December, 1935.

tagged families. This knowledge may have been gained through travel, conversation with social work leaders, or by reading.

(3) Because of the amassing of wealth in the cities, there were those persons with large incomes who had money which they were willing to give to constructive movements. They thought that society had played a part in enabling them to make their money and that some of it should be returned for the general welfare of society.

(4) There were people in cities who wanted to do the job. At the beginning, these were men and women of altruistic motive who had an urge toward the amelioration of the load of the less fortunate in society. Later, persons of more experience and technical training were available. The working conditions were favorable. A budget providing salary was available, the area of the city was sufficiently compact so that work could be done readily, and the poor were willing to be served.

(5) Due to the demands of business and of the professions, the city was the first to adopt a scientific approach toward the solution of its problem. Thus the idea of a preventive philanthropy received a favorable hearing. Public opinion was developed in relation to the handling of problems of poverty, dependency, and delinquency. The spirit of those responsible for the urban development in relation to social problems became one of doing the job in a way that conserved the best interests of those involved, regardless of whether it involved the introduction of new policies and procedures.

(6) The means of popular education were available. These included the daily press, social groups, clubs, and other organizations before which a preventive, philanthropic story could readily be told and could reach large numbers of people. The conditions in the city were favorable to the spreading of layer after layer of education regarding the city's responsibility for the underprivileged and the unfortunate.

(7) Public opinion was not a factor in individual case treatment. The social constitution was too complex; acquaintanceship was too limited. Sympathy and sense of justice became impersonal. The city



had institutionalized its good will, and the practicing social worker was relatively free to pursue her work without the knowledge or interference of an interested public.

(8) Cities early recognized the need for trained personnel. This was to be expected, since there is a high degree of specialization in all types of employment in which urban workers are engaged. To city dwellers, accustomed to the idea of specialists in various types of medicine, law, and the like, it seemed only natural that practicing social workers should receive professional training.

(9) Urban social work machinery was largely private, without legal entanglements, and was thus subject to change at will.

These conditions appear to have been favorable for the development of family case working agencies in cities. One writer has summarized this evolution in the following words:

Organized social service has during the last generation moved steadily forward, broadening its scope and improving its technique. More and more of the human waste lands came under its faithful and intelligent husbandry. From elementary palliative relief it passed on to prevention, rehabilitation, and adjustment. Its ministry spanned the whole life of man and all forms of dependence, from infancy to old age. Painstaking study and research in all related fields placed at the disposal of the social worker a body of knowledge which made possible a refinement of method and an increase in skill and effectiveness. Scientific training and high standards gave to his calling the character of a profession.<sup>2</sup>

Some twenty-five years ago, there developed in the states of Iowa, Massachusetts, and New York certain plans for county social work on a partial taxation basis. These are usually thought of as being the beginning of modern rural public welfare in this country. In this social work enterprise, an entirely new situation arose. While the problems of individual and family adjustment were basically the same, the conditions under which the work was to be done were radically different from those prevailing in the city. These differences, which are still in existence today, may be summarized as follows:

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Abba Hillel Silver, "The Crisis in Social Work," *National Conference of Social Work* (Philadelphia, 1932), p. 53.

(1) There is not a consciousness on the part of any large percentage of small-town and country people of the need for public welfare work. Population is so scattered that superior families do not know the conditions under which inferior families live. Where such knowledge is present, it is interpreted in terms of poor people who are merely unfortunate or cannot "manage well."

(2) There is lack of knowledge of present-day movements in relation to family treatment. The means of travel, conversation with authorities on social policy, and education through access to a literature of the field, which were available to city people, have not reached the rural man. Thus the whole story of constructive social work is new, even to the more progressive of the group.

(3) The farmer's business is made up of small gains continually made year after year. His very existence, economically, is based upon frugality. He has acquired a small amount of money and does not feel any responsibility to society for its accumulation. Thus, whatever he gives is bestowed somewhat grudgingly.

(4) Within the small-town and rural groups, there is a scarcity of persons who are ready to do the job. Traditionally, all types of public service have been rendered by the church, and, without a great deal of propaganda, it is difficult to get rural people to see that the technique of social work has been so thoroughly developed that the day of the volunteer worker in charge of the enterprise has passed. Rural social work must look to well-trained people who have a distinct knowledge of and sympathy for the problems of the small town and open country. A part of the task of the trained workers will be to make themselves interesting to rural people. In rural social work, an interest in people is not sufficient; the worker must secure a reciprocity of interest.

(5) Communication, which in the city was developed early, has been very much retarded in the small town and open country. Distances are great, people do not readily come together, and meetings are conducted for the most part on a traditional basis, so that the new is rarely introduced. While the daily paper, the telephone, the radio, and good

roads are doing much to change the situation, the lack of communication remains one of the factors which must be taken into account. It is difficult to promote an educative campaign concerning preventive philanthropy which will reach any large number of people.

(6) Public opinion is an outstanding factor in individual and family case treatment. The small town and rural community has not institutionalized its good will but prefers to express it personally and critically. Acquaintanceship is high and neighborly interest is considered to be imperative. Attitudes in relation to those in distress arise out of an emotional basis and quickly subside. Coupled with this is a lack of appreciation for the need of trained personnel in public welfare work.

(7) Since public welfare machinery is brought about by a slow process of legislative enactment, it is difficult to meet problem change with organization change.

The forms of organization developed in relation to rural public welfare were for the most part those which arose out of particular state situations, although certain organization patterns appear to have prevailed. By 1931 there was a considerable accumulation of the various types of both public and private agencies. A summary of public agencies shows ten states had rather well developed departments of public welfare under apparently good leadership, embodying such interests as public assistance, child welfare, mental hygiene, and corrections; seventeen states had a board of charities and corrections, responsible for child care and placement, and having, to a varying degree, a relation to relief; twenty-one had a penal and eleemosynary board dealing primarily with state institutions under that classification; forty-seven had a board or department of public health, in twenty-one of which there was responsibility for the development of county health units. Included among the public group there were also a number of state agencies designed for specific purposes, such as the Commission for the Care of the Blind, the Commission for Old-age Pensions, and the Commission for Mothers' Pensions.

The private state agencies most prominent in relation to rural affairs were societies for crippled children, tuberculosis societies, child placing agencies, State Conference of Social Work, and the American Red Cross (regional).

On a county basis, there were three types of agencies:

(1) The public-professional, in which a professionally trained employee was in charge carrying out a well defined program of work. These included the County Public Welfare Board, the County Child Welfare Commission, and the County Health Unit.

(2) The public agency, legal but not professional, comprising the county board of supervisors or commissioners and such county and township overseers of the poor as might be provided, and also such county agents for mothers' aid or old-age pensions as were provided by the state.

(3) County units of private, state, or national agencies, such as a chapter of the American Red Cross or the State Tuberculosis Association.

These agencies of various types represent, then, the social machinery which had evolved over a rather long period of time and which had been found to function in the midst of a rural culture. Most of them had an accumulation of tradition and were strongly entrenched in the thinking of the people and in the financial possibilities of the state and county. Their development and their general characteristics appear to have been determined by certain considerations which are deep-seated in our rural culture, for example, the doctrine of states' rights; local autonomy in the administration of county units of state services; the sanctity of the person and of the family (for example, enforcement of a quarantine or vaccination order); a belief that poverty, disease and accident may be a part of the Divine Plan; a laissez faire attitude toward change and intolerance with innovation; a utilitarian measure for all activities and institutions of a service nature; an individual rather than a social concept of personal responsibility; and a personal

rather than an institutional method of the expression of good will (for example, in giving to the poor).

It is into this same environment, accentuated by the depression, that the various Federal activities which may embody public policy were injected. It is here that their work has been done with the apparent purpose of relieving distress due to the depression, of setting in motion those forces which may lead to a return of normal life and activity. It may eventuate in social and economic planning which will permanently correct certain outstanding maladjustments in local, state, and national affairs, particularly in the field of social security.

The consideration of our topic, "National Policy and Rural Public Welfare," would be far easier, and certainly more to the point, if we were in possession of a statement embodying the content of national policy in relation to the general field of public welfare. A unified policy of public welfare would presuppose an integrated philosophy underlying practice in the field. Actually, such a statement of philosophy is not available. In this respect, social work is not dissimilar to other professions, in that philosophy follows, rather than precedes, the development of techniques and skills in any line of endeavor. As Antoinette Cannon says,

Gross and obvious inequalities demand to be dealt with, and objectives are taken for granted. Means of attaining these objectives present difficulties, and attention is focused on them; thus a technique develops. Mastery of technique and its use to create new situations becomes art; curiosity as to causes plus a passion for exactness leads us into science; and art and science effect their difficult but inevitable union in practice, before there is evolved a theory of the profession as a whole.<sup>3</sup>

Thus it is not surprising that a national policy of public welfare—unified, concise, and entirely definite—has not yet been developed. Nor is it difficult to see that such a policy would be more detrimental than beneficial, since the introduction of a particular philosophy at the beginning of the government's entrance into public welfare might

<sup>3</sup> Antoinette Cannon, "Changes in Philosophy of Social Workers," *National Conference of Social Work* (Detroit, 1933), p. 598.

mean a too rigid delineation of administrative plans and programs. Furthermore, the exigencies of the situation demanded that new measures be put into effect without loss of time. The present administration immediately upon assuming office was faced with a crisis involving the feeding of people and the stabilizing of certain tottering institutions. It was necessary to promote specific redirective measures at once.

In the Federal approach to crisis problem solving there were two alternatives:

(1) The recognition of the autonomy of the several states and the creation of coöperative arrangements with them, involving Federal leadership with state responsibility in administration, or

(2) The creation of a highly central procedure with both Federal leadership and administrative responsibility, with the states as mere administrative territorial units.

No doubt the necessities of the occasion demanded the use of the latter method, and it does not lie within the province of this paper to discuss the relative merits of the two.

While no statement of policy has been definitely formulated, certain philosophic considerations appear to be evident in the policies advanced by the administration. Among them are the following:

(1) Society must assume full responsibility for the unexpected in human affairs, and it is incumbent upon the existing public agency of government to deal aggressively and as thoroughly as possible with all such incidents.

(2) The prevailing economic system must assume the responsibility for the maintenance of the people and their institutions on such a plane as will insure reasonable living and effective service.

(3) Relief is a temporary emergency measure and should give way to treatment and prevention. These latter must become a part of the organized fabric of social thought in the nation.

(4) Human rights, or the rights of the individual, are not rights at all, but social privileges arising out of group experience and conferred by the group for its own welfare. Thus society exercises the right of direction and control of the individual, who has a minimum duty to support himself and his family. In addition to this duty, however, society may justly demand something more for the welfare of the social whole.

(5) Childhood has a right to the best fruits of the science of its age. The privilege of the parent ends where the rights of the child begin. Security should be given to all persons, and especially to the aged and to the very young.

(6) Human beings differ in their mental levels, skills, and the ability to produce and use wealth. This runs counter to the doctrine that we are all free and equal, a belief which social scientists discarded long ago but to which the "average man" still clings tenaciously.

(7) Land use, including agriculture as our basic industry, is a social matter, and "the great American blunder" in land settlement must be corrected. Coupled with this is the belief that a laissez faire policy on the part of any agency, public or private, cannot be reconciled with our newer concepts of progress. Since human association is partly coercive and partly voluntary, the coercive must at times be employed in order that socially desired ends may be attained.

(8) Humanity and its institutions may be improved. Progress lies in the direction of activities involving the welfare of marginal groups. This presupposes a belief in the efficacy of directed change. That is, planning along social lines must be employed if we are to progress.

As the emergency program became interpreted into actual working agencies within states and counties, conditions were created which, while probably unavoidable, were new and may take some time in readjustment. Among them the following appear to be outstanding:

(1) Existing state and county agencies were rather thoroughly ignored in the setting up of emergency machinery. This was especially

true of state boards or departments of public welfare and county boards of supervisors, along with such relief agencies as may have functioned previously.

(2) The administrative machinery was cumbersome and arbitrary, with an ample supply of "red tape."

(3) The magnitude of the several tasks necessitated the employment of persons not fully trained to perform the prescribed tasks. This was especially true of county social workers, many of whom were urban people with neither knowledge nor appreciation of the culture and institutions of rural people.

(4) Funds appeared to be rather freely available. Among farm people this was not only misunderstood but was decidedly discountenanced because of the place of thrift and frugality in the farmer's general pattern of life.

(5) Local administrative units were not without their errors of judgment in the allocation of relief. This tended to a promotion of the predatory motive manifested by a tendency to "get while the getting was good."

(6) With Federal assumption of the task there was a decline in local responsibility, particularly in regard to finances. "Let the government do it," appeared to be the easy way out.

(7) The fundamental philosophy was new and was not interpreted to the people in a way that the implications of the various regulations were understood.

While the foregoing appear on the critical side, there have been a number of factors which are decidedly positive in nature and should be of long term value. A list of beneficial factors might include these, among others:

(1) There has been created an appreciation of the importance of local problem solving on the part of outstanding persons in most counties. Even where local agencies are reluctant to assume financial



responsibility for problem solving, the recognition of the existence of these problems is, in itself, beneficial.

(2) Leadership and participation opportunity have been provided in the emergency program for large numbers of persons who had previously known little of its nature and content.

(3) Public welfare has been placed on a professional basis by the requirement of trained personnel, especially as family case workers within the counties.

At the present time, state and county public agencies are being commanded to make provision for carrying the welfare load if and when Federal funds are withdrawn. This is particularly true of the legislatures of most states.

As a philosophy of public welfare work evolves, new patterns are presented for rural people. Old attitudes are being challenged in the light of new human needs.

Social planning based on human need has been started in most states through an extra-legal state planning board which after a study of a year or more has made a formal report which has received some publicity. In some states this planning has extended particularly to the state penal and eleemosynary institutions. The several works programs have provided a substitute for relief. The youth program is designed to give redirective guidance to youth until normal readjustments are made. Rehabilitation and resettlement are designed to contribute to the welfare of country life in one of its most needy phases. The long-term nature of its program lends confidence to the possibility of its achievements. Due largely to the demands of the emergency program, there has been a marked change in the underlying basis of training for public welfare. Most schools of professional social work are making rather complete re-evaluation of goals and methods in vocational education.

The past is history. Rural life and its institutions have received an impact of first magnitude. For the present, the impact prevails because of an arbitrary administration of free state and federal funds. As

normal times approach and the economic load becomes a local one, will the innovation result in rational change or will there be a reaction which will turn back the clock of rural social work?

The present rural social order has been said to be the last stand of the true democratic process in this country. If sound social change is coming in rural affairs, the democratic method must be used, or rural life as we know it will disintegrate and be subject to further cultural lag.

The immediate future should provide permanent federal planning based upon democratic participation of state, county, and local units, preferably along patterns already established in other fields; permanent centralization of leadership in a Federal Department of Public Welfare; administrative responsibility allocated to states vested in a somewhat similar administrative unit; a permanent coöperative plan of financial aid to states on a matching basis similar to that provided by the Smith-Lever and Smith-Hughes Acts, in which the state could make grants to counties under prescribed conditions and in which funds originating in counties could be used as state offset in matching federal funds; the establishment of professional standards in public welfare work; the encouragement of research in rural public welfare; and a thorough dissemination among rural people of the philosophy of modern public welfare.

The foregoing proposal is not new. It has been presented on numerous occasions but without support. In the prosperous past we made secure the place of the machine. The present emergency has laid bare the results of a parallel neglect of the conditions of men as to their welfare and security. The task lying immediately ahead demands that federal leadership in this field be placed upon a permanent, adequate, and authoritative basis in order that the basic human problems involved may be approached in a manner which will contribute to their solution, regardless of the nature of the necessary accompanying readjustments of the social order.

# Size of Family in Relation to Homogeneity of Parental Traits

*Walter C. McKain, Jr., and N. L. Whetten*

THE STRUCTURE and functioning of any social organization is dependent, to a large extent, upon the number of its component parts. This has long been recognized in the theory of domestic institutions. The disappearance of the large family in our culture has resulted in a variety of small family patterns.<sup>1</sup> With the introduction of the childless family, the one-child family, and other family types, the importance of the number of children in the family unit has increased.

Sociologists for some time have been investigating the size of the family as conditioned by various social phenomena. It has been shown that the rural birth-rate is higher than that of cities. No little attention has been given to the relation between the social class of the parents and the size of their family. Some have found that the number of children born to a family varies with the occupational status of the parents. Families adhering to a given religious belief may differ in size from those of other religious affiliations. However, congruence of parental traits has been seldom, if ever, used as a function of their fertility. Without attempting to demonstrate causality, we have undertaken an examination of the relation between the size of the family and the degree of homogeneity of certain parental characteristics.

It will be the thesis of this paper to show that a positive correlation exists between the homogeneity of parental traits and the fertility of the

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<sup>1</sup>Ernest W. Burgess, "The Family as a Unity of Interacting Personalities," *Family*, VII (March, 1926), 3-6, 8-9.

parents. The size of the family varies directly with the number of traits which the husband and wife have in common. We do not contend that this relationship holds true for all cultures at all times, but are of the opinion that other investigations in contemporary American communities would show a similar tendency.

The data for this study were gathered by the Sociology Department of the Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station during the summer of 1934 by means of a house-to-house survey of 1,816 families residing in the township of Windsor, a suburban area adjacent to the city of Hartford, Connecticut. The schedule was rather elaborate and was designed to describe the social and economic adjustments being made by the families residing in this area.<sup>2</sup> The township consists of 30 square miles extending from the Hartford city line approximately ten miles into the open country. It contains a population of 8,290 people, approximately three-fourths of whom live in villages, the remainder living in the open country. The area has always been an important farming district since its first settlement three hundred years ago. In recent years there has been an influx of families from Hartford, who use the area for residential purposes and commute to their work in the city.

Not all of the 1,816 records obtained were usable for the present paper. Some of them were omitted for the reason that they did not contain complete information on all of the characteristics with which we are at present concerned. Then again, all households consisting of single individuals, broken families, and families in which either the husband or wife had been married more than once, were omitted. After these omissions were made, a total of 1,237 records remained and these form the data for the subsequent analyses.

These families were classified according to the number of specified traits which the husband and wife shared. The availability of information limited the selection of traits to those which are predominantly social, and the authors realize that other traits might be equally im-

<sup>2</sup> This study will be published as an Experiment Station *Bulletin* by N. L. Whetten within the next few months.

portant in a problem of this nature. The characteristics which were finally chosen are as follows:

1. *Place of birth.* This merely refers to a distinction between cities and rural areas. If the husband and wife were both born in the city, or were both born in the country, they were considered to possess this trait in common. If, on the other hand, one of them was born in the city while the other was born in a rural district they were considered dissimilar in regard to this trait. Recognition is thus given to the important differences existing between the social and psychological outlooks of persons born in the city and persons born in rural areas.

2. *National origin.* This was determined by the country in which the father of the husband or wife was born. When the fathers of the couple were born in the same country, the pair was regarded as homogamous relative to national origin.

3. *Age difference.* Couples in which the husband was either younger than his wife, or was more than seven years her senior, were considered to be unlike with respect to age. Age difference, of itself, has little social consequence, but it serves as an indication of compatibility in interests between husband and wife.

4. *Religion.* Religious affiliations were divided into three groups—Protestant, Catholic, and Hebrew. If the husband belonged to one religious group and his spouse to another, they were treated as dissimilar with respect to religion.

5. *Education.* If the couple had received within three years of the same amount of formal schooling, they were considered similar in this respect. Education, like age, is an index of important social differences between husband and wife.

Since any assignment of values necessarily would be arbitrary, each characteristic was given equal weight. Consequently, similarity of husband and wife in any one of the above traits was considered one unit in their index of homogeneity. The couples were classified according to the number of traits which the husband and wife had in common, and for each group the average number of children was computed.

Table I shows the average number of children according to the number of traits which the husband and wife share. The average for the entire group is 2.62. It will be observed, however, that this varies

TABLE I  
AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN WINDSOR FAMILIES ACCORDING TO  
NUMBER OF PARENTAL TRAITS IN COMMON AND ACCORDING  
TO AGE OF WIVES

Number of Traits in Common	TOTAL		AGE OF WIVES ( <i>in years</i> )					
			30 or Less		31-43		44 and Over	
	Number of Families	Average Number of Children	Number of Families	Average Number of Children	Number of Families	Average Number of Children	Number of Families	Average Number of Children
Two or Less . . . . .	115	2.17	31	1.32	52	2.37	30	2.93
Three . . . . .	274	2.19	62	1.52	99	2.25	110	2.51
Four . . . . .	487	2.55	84	1.48	185	2.55	218	2.95
Five . . . . .	361	3.19	46	1.65	154	3.07	156	3.79
TOTAL . . . . .	1237*	2.62	223	1.50	490	2.63	514	3.13

\* Data incomplete for 10 cases; 2 with two or less, 3 with three, and 5 with five traits in common.

directly with the number of traits. Thus, for those parents having two traits or *less* in common, the average number of children is only 2.17, while for those having five traits in common the average is 3.19.

It might be argued that in recent years marriages take place somewhat more frequently between dissimilar mates and that, therefore, the observed trend may be explained in terms of age. In order to hold the age factor constant, the families were grouped according to the age of the wives. It may be seen from this table that, despite slight irregularities, the same general tendency prevails within each age group.

In order to test these findings in another area, use was made of data which were collected recently in the township of Montville. In sharp contrast to a suburban community such as Windsor, Montville is a rural part-time-farming area containing a large proportion of foreign-born stock. The Montville data are presented in Table II. The same

TABLE II  
AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN MONTVILLE FAMILIES ACCORDING TO  
NUMBER OF PARENTAL TRAITS IN COMMON AND ACCORDING  
TO AGE OF WIVES

Number of Traits in Common	TOTAL		AGE OF WIVES (in years)					
			30 or Less		31-43		44 and Over	
	Number of Families	Average Number of Children	Number of Families	Average Number of Children	Number of Families	Average Number of Children	Number of Families	Average Number of Children
Two or Less . . . . .	78	2.08	23	1.52	20	2.90	35	1.97
Three . . . . .	177	2.47	47	1.38	65	2.74	65	2.98
Four . . . . .	272	2.74	60	1.87	102	3.00	110	2.97
Five . . . . .	172	2.99	37	1.51	64	3.33	71	3.45
TOTAL . . . . .	699	2.66	167	1.61	251	3.01	281	2.97

tendency which was observed with the Windsor data is apparent here. Thus for parents who have two or less traits in common, the average number of children is 2.08; parents with four traits in common have 2.74; while those with five traits have an average of 2.99 children. The same general trend is observed when the age factor is held constant.

TABLE III  
AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN WINDSOR FAMILIES BY NATIVITY  
AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF HUSBANDS, ACCORDING TO  
NUMBER OF PARENTAL TRAITS IN COMMON

Number of Traits in Common	Native-Born		Foreign-Born		Protestant		Non-Protestant	
	Number of Families	Average Number of Children	Number of Families	Average Number of Children	Number of Families	Average Number of Children	Number of Families	Average Number of Children
Two or Less . . . . .	90	2.07	25	2.56	48	1.99	67	2.28
Three . . . . .	223	2.06	51	2.77	175	2.10	99	2.33
Four . . . . .	347	2.16	140	3.52	281	2.18	206	3.16
Five . . . . .	170	2.22	191	4.04	159	2.37	202	3.83
TOTAL . . . . .	830	2.13	407	3.46	663	2.17	574	3.14

It is apparent in Table III that families in which the husband is foreign-born are larger than families in which the husband is native-

born. Within each nativity group, however, the size of the family is related to the number of traits which are shared by the husband and wife, although the trend is more pronounced for the foreign-born families.

Likewise it is shown in Table III that families in which the husband is affiliated with some denomination of the Protestant Church are smaller than families in which the husband is affiliated with the Jewish or Catholic faith. Yet within each religious group the major tendency noted above prevails.

In Table IV we have classified the families into six groups based upon the occupation of the husband. It will be seen that the average

TABLE IV  
AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION OF HUSBAND,  
AND ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF PARENTAL TRAITS IN COMMON

<i>Occupations of Husbands</i>	<i>Total Number of Families</i>	<i>Average Number of Children</i>	<i>Average Number of Traits in Common</i>	<i>Families With Three or Less Traits in Common</i>		<i>Families With More Than Three Traits in Common</i>	
				<i>Number of Families</i>	<i>Average Number of Children</i>	<i>Number of Families</i>	<i>Average Number of Children</i>
White-Collared...	454	1.85	3.70	166	1.74	288	1.98
Skilled.....	334	2.70	3.77	120	2.36	214	2.89
Semi-Skilled.....	80	2.69	3.94	27	2.66	53	2.69
Unskilled.....	131	3.25	4.19	23	2.43	108	3.42
Farm Operators...	131	3.35	4.03	31	2.41	100	3.64
Farm Laborers ...	97	3.81	4.18	20	3.35	77	3.93
TOTAL.....	1227*	2.62	3.86	387	2.18	840	2.82

\*Data concerning occupation incomplete for 10 cases.

number of children increases as one descends the occupational scale. At the same time it will be observed that the average number of traits held in common also increases. Therefore, it may be contended that the size of the family is dependent upon the occupational status of the husband and is only indirectly reflected in homogeneity of parental traits.



However, Table IV also shows that within each occupational group families in which the parents have three or less traits in common are smaller than families in which the parents hold four or five traits in common.

The question now arises as to whether one or two of the traits used in formulating the index of homogeneity might not have been sufficiently important to account for the entire trend. If this were so, the omission of these traits would destroy the correlation. In Table V the

TABLE V  
AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN WINDSOR FAMILIES ACCORDING TO  
NUMBER OF PARENTAL TRAITS IN COMMON  
(One Trait Omitted in Each Column)

<i>Number of Traits in Common</i>	AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN				
	<i>Birth-Place Omitted</i>	<i>National Origin Omitted</i>	<i>Age Difference Omitted</i>	<i>Religion Omitted</i>	<i>Education Omitted</i>
One.....	2.05	1.95	1.94	2.24	2.27
Two.....	2.20	2.32	2.18	2.28	2.33
Three.....	2.52	2.58	2.31	2.29	2.48
Four.....	2.92	2.97	3.20	3.19	3.10

data are so arranged that each of the traits in turn is omitted, and the information is presented for the other four. It will be observed that in each instance the correlation is maintained. It therefore seems logical to assume that no one trait is responsible for the entire trend.

In showing that there is a positive correlation between the homogeneity of parents, as measured by the number of traits in common, and the size of their family, we must not jump to the conclusion that homogeneity *per se* is a causative factor. Obviously, parents who are homogeneous will not necessarily have large families. It is much more likely that dissimilarity with regard to the various traits tends to militate against the large family. The correlation is therefore likely to be due to the negative influence of heterogeneity rather than the positive influence of homogeneity.

When the husband and wife are affiliated with different religions the question of the religious training of the children arises. An easy solution to this problem is to remain childless. Occasionally the problem is not met until after the first child is born. The friction developed around the religious education of this child may discourage the rearing of more children.

Similarly, if the national origins of the husband and wife differ, conflicting customs and beliefs may limit the size of the family.

Many persons who live in the city or suburb have moved there from the country. It has been shown that these men and women are more ambitious than the persons left behind in the rural areas. Frequently they marry persons who were born in the city. In their attempt to gain status in an urban environment and to further their individualistic ambitions, such couples may decide against having a large family.

In a like manner, difference in education may affect the number of children born to a couple.

Up to this point we have assumed that if there is a causal relationship between homogeneity and fertility it has operated volitionally on the part of the parents. The age differential of husband and wife introduces a biological factor in addition to important social considerations. When a man marries a woman his senior, the period of child-bearing for that marriage may be reduced. When the husband is older than his wife, the child-bearing stage of the marriage may be extended, unless the disparity of ages is great. In this case, the interests of the couple may be sufficiently diverse to have a negative influence upon the size of the family.

We have presented in this paper data derived from two distinct communities, from which we have concluded that there is a positive correlation between the homogeneity of parents and the size of their family. We do not claim to have presented complete substantiation of the thesis, and hope that the results will be tested by others.

# Localization of Dependency In Rural Areas

*J. O. Babcock*

SOCIAL SERVICE WORKERS have long looked upon certain definite groups in our society as being dependent.<sup>1</sup> For the most part, they are those groups whom we have come to call "the unemployables" during the past few years. Dependents are those who, due to some physical handicap or mental disability, or emotional instability, or parental status, are unable to compete in the normal processes of the economic order and to maintain themselves as self-supporting units in our society. They are, in brief, the aged, the widowed, the orphaned, the physically handicapped, the mentally disabled, and all manner of institutionalized individuals, except the criminal groups. These groups exist in our society in large numbers, but no one seems to know just why some of them are dependent upon public or private aid and others are not. Federal Emergency Relief Administration research workers have frequently assumed that certain traits such as those mentioned above define the "unemployables," but have often failed to point out that many other such persons are present in our society who do not receive public aid and are therefore not counted as "unemployable" and, hence, dependents.

One fact that is often overlooked is that these characteristics exist in combination with an unfavorable opportunity to operate effectively in our present economic order, that is, the inability to maintain a

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was read before the Section on Rural Sociology of the American Sociological Society, New York City, December, 1935.

self-sustaining existence through some kind of gainful employment or by living on an income derived from savings or inheritances. The orphaned children of wealthy parents are seldom thought of as being dependents. Many aged persons have saved sufficient sums of money through their life professions to maintain themselves or to employ persons to care for them during declining years. Not all widows are dependent upon charity or pensions, even if they have a large family to support. Hence, the characterization of dependents and "unemployables" as those who are unable to compete is only a partial characterization. A slightly more universal statement would be inability to accumulate sufficient money reserves to meet crisis situations brought about by economic depressions, old age, death of the wage earner, or mental disablement.

The research group in the Federal Emergency Relief Administration is aware of the difficulties in drawing a sharp line of demarcation between the independent and the dependent person. The experience of the depression years is so vivid in the minds of some that the easy bantering of the terms "unemployable," "permanently dependent," "partially dependent," or "temporarily dependent" is distasteful. But even the best of efforts at arriving at a satisfactory distinction between independence and dependency has frequently met with failure, especially when the problem is attacked on a national scale. A person might be dependent with reference to his usual occupation due to some occupational handicap and yet, by the assumption of another occupation, be employable and thereby cease to be dependent. Health factors can cause the head of a family to be dependent in one climate and independent in another. At best, the concept of dependency rests upon certain ill-defined indices such as those previously mentioned. Little progress has been made in perfecting psychological indices of dependency and unemployability. Just when, for instance, is the person who is unwilling to work at the task offered him, employable or unemployable, dependent or independent? It is possible that a different set of conditions surrounding the assigned task might lead to a willingness to

work, or a new assignment might be grasped with vigor whereas the formerly attempted task resulted in the thrusting of a dependent person upon our society?

The problem of dependency, then, looked at from this wider viewpoint, is much more complex than the problem as usually presented. Those whom we have commonly called dependents do not, in all probability, constitute the whole dependent population in the United States. The expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars of public funds for direct aid during the past four years has adequately pointed out that we have had many in our nation who were not commonly thought of as being dependent. We now find ourselves thinking not only of the unemployable dependent, but also of the employable dependent who cannot find sufficient work to maintain himself as a self-sufficient unit in our society.

Up to this point, we have considered only the person or the family group as constituting the dependents in our society. Is it possible that there can be a larger and more inclusive type of dependency in our nation today? Can we, by any stretch of the imagination, think of corporate dependency as well as individual dependency? Is there any essential difference, to the taxpayer and the ultimate consumer, between direct relief to the individual and subsidy to corporate bodies? At a recent meeting of an industrial group in Washington a difference seemed to be implied, for the group begged President Roosevelt to stop direct relief and admonished him to use public funds to aid the railroads. Indeed, there are many corporate bodies in our nation today who support the idea that the government should retreat from the relief field, and yet should render public aid to corporate groups which, they maintain, cannot continue to serve the nation without money from the public coffer. This idea is not new. It has existed from the very founding of our nation. Somehow, it has held public support. The public at large bristles at the thought of being taxed for direct aid to individuals, but it seems to have little conception of the indirect taxes

paid on most of the things it purchases, and that these indirect taxes are used to subsidize corporate groups.

Why isn't this relationship present in the mind of the public? The answer is complex, but it is found, in part, in the astute manner by which this form of aid is always presented. Public aid to corporate bodies has been so skillfully presented to the public at large that its presence has become almost as universal and right as the mores. Expenditures to build up the merchant marine are never called grants—rather they are politely called "mail contracts." Newspapers, frequently inclined to criticize government agencies for direct aid to individuals, plead for the freedom of the press and the right to participate in special mailing rates. In our past history, we were never guilty of utilizing national wealth for the benefit of the railroads, but we did give them "land grants." Corporate industrial groups have long received "tariff" for protective purposes, but they have rarely received direct grants. Government contracts frequently contain a clause that materials used on a construction project should be "made in America" unless the same quality of materials can be purchased at a large saving from some foreign industrial group. This, of course, appeals to the nationalistic and patriotic spirit of most good Americans. The government has usually made appropriations for river and harbor development, for building dams, for reclamation activities, and for federal construction, all of which serve to bolster local labor markets and industry in general. In many cases, those who receive the benefits of this indirect policy are the most bitter opponents of any form of direct aid to individuals. The public generally and rather willingly follows the lead of those recipients without seeming to understand that as taxpayers and ultimate consumers the cost of such benefits is passed on to them.

This process of illusionment is not limited to benefits given corporate bodies. A paramount issue today, the soldiers' bonus, while dealing with an individual rather than a corporate problem, seems to have the active support of many publics in the more generalized public of the

nation. Indeed, some state officials are not alone in their clamor that direct relief should be stopped at once and that the bonus should be paid in cash.

There are those who believe strongly in the indirect and corporate form of public aid (and who at the same time condemn the direct and individual forms) who will at once point out that by giving protection in the form of indirect subsidies, we have increased our national wealth. Doubtless, there are some in this group who would maintain, if questioned closely, that it is the function of the national government to distribute wealth by these indirect techniques, but surely poor public policy to redistribute this same wealth by direct techniques. This paper does not wish to debate or even evaluate this position as a national policy. It merely wishes to point out that such processes exist in our national life today and exist without the general public's comprehension of their meaning.

Let us assume that it is an acceptable national policy to redistribute wealth as well as to build wealth. Is it possible also to assume that these redistributive processes are without value? Few who were in a position to observe the facts now doubt that this nation was on the verge of a period of violence during the depths of the depression. The public was never generally well informed, but it is now well known that some looting of city stores had started, and that some farm groups were in open revolt during the winter of 1933. Just what stopped these destructive activities is perhaps a matter of debate, but it can be said that they did stop coincident with the formation of certain agencies whose purpose it was to put food, clothing, shelter, and work into the hands of the unemployed. If, by the giving of such direct aid, the national government was preserved and much bloodshed was prevented, then at least those who believe in non-violent behavior will maintain that some good came from such direct aid. It might even be suggested that such an agency as the Civil Works Administration was a definite, positive factor in our national life during a crisis situation, in that it poured money into the hands of many at a time when the assets of the

country were anything but liquid. It probably did not create directly a positive wealth, but it did serve to assist money to flow slightly more rapidly and by so doing perhaps create more wealth indirectly.

The conclusion we tentatively draw is that aid is aid, no matter where or in what form it is found, and that most of the corporate or individual bodies that receive such aid constitute in a very definite sense a dependent segment of our society. True, the person of wealth living on earnings from corporate investments does not appear to be on the dole, until we discover that the very sources of the earnings are built upon a structure that is subsidized and protected by public aid. The man on the dole, or the recipient of direct aid, seems at first far different from this other man, and yet careful analysis brings both closer together and tends to lead one to believe that they are both really on the dole, the one indirectly, the other directly. There seems to exist an uninterrupted sequence from those who are totally dependent and receive direct doles to those who are outwardly completely independent and are receiving an indirect form of the dole.

So far we have considered the larger aspects of the problem of dependency from the standpoint of the nation as a whole. We shall now turn our attention to the rural phase of American life and examine it for evidences of the presence of the same processes. Evidences are not difficult to find. We find many techniques employed whereby subsidies to rural peoples are made acceptable, at least to the farming publics. We find cotton contracts instead of relief for the cotton farmers, corn-hog contracts for the Iowa farmer, benefit payments for the wheat grower, emergency loans for drought-stricken farmers, cattle-purchase programs for New Mexico and Texas farmers, rehabilitation loans for displaced tenants, and an almost multitudinous number of other forms of aid, both direct and indirect, for the American farmers.

There are some who will immediately point out that American farmers constitute a dependent group anyway, and that the forms of aid they receive are very different from those received by corporate bodies. The attempt to sell the public this idea is a favorite sport of the



metropolitan press. The arguments run in terms of the amounts of money given away to Western, and therefore agricultural, states while the sources of federal income are in those states with great corporate bodies, i.e., in the East. That the great federal revenue-producing areas are the industrial regions cannot be denied, but here again the public is misled into believing that the American farmers are a beggarly lot. That the second largest internal revenue tax is paid by the state of North Carolina does not necessarily mean that this state is taxed out of proportion to the other states. Rather, it seems to signify the concentration of a great tobacco-processing industry. That the industrial states pay the most income tax appears to signify that wealth is concentrated in those areas that are engaged in the processing of raw materials, products which may come from every other state in the Union. Apparently, then, if certain states do pay more into the national treasury and other states receive more proportionately from the national treasury, and this situation exists because of differences in economic structure and disparity of income, then the national government (in pouring federal funds into states which produce little federal revenue) is engaged in a type of activity which might be termed "wealth redistribution." It is not possible, therefore, for us to assume that the rural group is entirely dependent or that it is constantly receiving charity at the hands of the national government.

With this limitation placed upon the discussion of the dependency, we can consider the forms of dependency in rural areas. During the first twenty months of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration the state of Iowa received about seven dollars per capita for the relief of the unemployed. This is slightly more than one-half of the national per capita figure. During a comparable period of time, this state received sixteen and a half dollars per capita in Agricultural Adjustment Administration benefits, or three times the national average. It is pointed out in the study *Six Rural Problem Areas* that the presence of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration program in the cotton areas probably accounts in part for the fact that the relief rates in these

areas were somewhat lower for the rural families than for the entire population in the defined areas. An analysis of several range counties in western Texas reveals that, in those counties where the Agricultural Adjustment Administration's cattle-purchase program operated effectively during the drought, very little federal relief was given. A study now under way is making a county-by-county analysis of the funds disbursed by eleven governmental agencies. Incomplete as it is, the study is showing conclusively that where certain forms of aid are present in a marked quantity, other forms of aid tend to be present in a much less marked quantity. The possible exception to this generalization is the drought regions, where all types of aid seem to have been needed in order to meet a crisis situation.

Certain areas in the rural portions of the United States have, throughout almost the entire life of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, shown a marked tendency toward high relief rates. This basic observation has been skilfully developed by Beck and Forster in the recent publication of the Division of Research Statistics and Finance of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, entitled *Six Rural Problem Areas*.<sup>2</sup> The authors state, "Study of county relief rates for several consecutive months revealed well-defined rural areas in which many counties reported 20 to 30 per cent or more of their families receiving relief."<sup>3</sup> The areas in which this phenomenon occurred were pointed out as being "six homogeneous areas" designated "the Appalachian Ozark," "the Lake States Cut-Over," the "Short-Grass Spring Wheat," "the Short-Grass Winter Wheat," "the Western Cotton," and "the Eastern Cotton Area."

It was clearly recognized that the high relief rate was not the only factor of importance in the consideration of these areas as areas of concentrated dependency. An effort was made by the authors to associate certain very definite factors with these high relief rates and, presumably, to secure a more complete understanding of the persistency

<sup>2</sup> P. G. Beck and M. C. Forster, *Six Rural Problem Areas: Relief Resources—Rehabilitation*. (Washington, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, 1935).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

and intensity of this index of dependency. The associated factors were determined to be somewhat as follows: for the Lake States Cut-Over Area, poor soil, short growing season, small percentage of land in farms, decadent lumbering and associated industries, and unemployment in mines and industry; for the Appalachian Ozark Area, a mountainous terrain, generally poor soil, a large proportion of self-sufficing farms, decadent lumbering and abandoned coal mines, a dense population and a lack of goals to which to migrate and thus lessen the population pressure, and a "distinctive culture based on agriculture plus other employment, now in a period of change owing to loss of non-farm employment"; for the Short-Grass Wheat Area, efforts at crop farming in areas of low and uncertain precipitation, and an extensive power type of agriculture; in the Western Cotton Area, "overexpansion of cotton farming and surplus of population due to immigration, and crop failure due in part to drought";<sup>4</sup> for the Eastern Cotton Area, a system of farming which grew out of the plantation system, and the disruption of the traditional system of agriculture due to loss of foreign markets and low prices of cotton."<sup>5</sup>

Having thus delimited the areas studied, the authors very aptly state that,

Although crop failure, speculative expansion, absentee ownership and depression price levels were among the factors which precipitated the relief situation in the Six Rural Problem Areas, the roots of the trouble obviously lay deeper. The frontier philosophy which assumed that the individual, if given complete freedom, would pursue an economic course that was to the best interests of society, led to the present dilemma of stranded communities, bankrupt farmers, and widespread unemployment. The rapid and heedless exploitation of the human and natural resources in these areas bears tragic witness to the fruits of such a philosophy. In the Lake States Cut-Over and Appalachian Ozark Areas, the destruction of the forests is a prime example of the social consequences of our lack of national policy with respect to the utilization of natural resources. In both areas commercial companies cut the marketable timber, destroying small growth as they went, thus delaying the day when the areas

<sup>4</sup> This paper presumes the authors mean a surplus of population in terms of the resources available for the economic independence of all.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

might again yield a timber crop. When the timber was exhausted, the communities created during the period of exploitation were left stranded. . . .

The philosophy which condoned the destruction of the forests for private gain is not confined to any one area, as the relief situation in the Short-Grass region aptly illustrates. In the period of high wheat prices following the World War, large acreages of virgin sod were broken and planted to wheat. Because of the chances for quick profits, farmers rushed into wheat production on a large scale with little thought of whether the farm economy which they were setting up could weather the vicissitudes of a series of dry years such as had occurred with disturbing regularity in the past. Neither did they consider the effects of removing all of the vegetation from large areas in which erosion by wind was common. The present relief situation is patently a result of the philosophy of making a "killing" and letting the future take care of itself. Not only the farmers, but the state government, pursued a policy which could only lead to economic disaster.<sup>6</sup>

Many other factors, such as tax delinquency, debt structure, and bank failures, are also considered in this study as being factors associated with high relief rates, in addition to all of the above, which are doubtless the chief associated factors.

Does this study give us a complete picture of the dependency areas in rural United States? It does not purport to do this, and before an answer to the question is attempted it might be well to consider certain theoretical aspects of the problem of dependency in the nation as a whole.

We can conclude from the discussion and from such indications as are present in studies now under way that the study, *Six Rural Problem Areas*, does not represent a picture of the only areas where dependency has localized in rural United States. The index of relief as used in this study is only one of several indices which should be considered in the effort to define dependency in rural America and to determine its extent. One engaged in research in this problem, however, should not conclude that the mere expenditure of public funds in any area is evidence of the presence of a dependent population, even when this dependency is considered in a broad manner as presented here. One

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

of the ever-present problems confronting the research group in the Federal Emergency Relief Administration is the presence of administrative differences in the giving of aid. The index of administration has as yet to be determined, probably by a number of intensive studies in carefully selected areas. Enough work has been done, however, to indicate that this factor is present in nearly all of the forms of governmental aid. Sufficient observations have been made, however unsystematic they might be, to indicate that the problem is as much one of considering what people receive as aid, as it is one of considering what are their real needs. There may be a great difference between what they receive and what they need. Political considerations frequently play a greater part in the expenditure of public funds than does actual need. Whether these political considerations are chiefly located in the local governments, the state governments, or the federal government is still an open question, but there is some indication that these considerations are chiefly the result of the activities of local governmental groups.

The real import of all this discussion is, in conclusion, that we need a more thorough-going synthesis of the many factors present in a problem of this kind than we, as social scientists, are accustomed to make. We find many questions only partially answered when we consider the problem of dependency. These questions frequently lie at the root of our most basic conceptions and must be answered before we can continue investigations which will work toward the lessening of dependency in the United States. Sociologists and social workers have in times past been greatly concerned over the dependent character of the aged, the incapacitated and similar groups. Techniques for the application of assistance to these groups have developed markedly during the last few years. One is impressed, however, with the small amount of attention that is devoted to the public reaction to various forms of aid. This is especially true with reference to the rural public, where the attitudes toward direct aid are, for the most part, negative. Farm groups in the Middle West have long been willing to support, by popular vote at least, the industrial desire for indirect forms of public

aid such as that represented by corporate bodies. That they have readily accepted the program of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and have utilized the Farm Credit Administration's loans at a low rate of interest is only an expression of this attitude. Methods employed by workers engaged in direct relief activities, the refusal of the family to support its own dependent persons, the very fact of "being on relief" are all things which the farm public feels are undesirable. But where is the real and basic difference between these forms and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration's benefit payments? The academic and professional groups might well devote much attention to the delineation of these differences. A study of public reactions to various forms of aid might well occupy the attention of a number of scholars for some time. Studies of this type will aid social scientists in ascertaining why some forms of aid operate effectively in some areas and not in others. From the social engineering point of view, such studies will assist in the building of a public policy with reference to dependent persons. The factor of administration of aid might well be a problem for investigation by social scientists. Until this problem is more adequately defined, it must be looked upon as one of the unknowns of probably great importance in the consideration of any problem of public aid. The way is pointed toward this type of synthesis of factors in *Six Rural Problem Areas*.

# Population Mobility

C. E. Lively

## INTRODUCTION

THIS PAPER deals with the spatial and occupational mobility of the rural population of the United States.<sup>1</sup> It is concerned with the study of those movements of families and individuals by which they attempt to orient themselves geographically and occupationally.

*Social Significance of Population Mobility.* It is scarcely necessary to demonstrate in detail the social significance of population mobility. While, at times, mobility may become a social problem, *per se*, it is more likely to be found as an accompaniment of important changes in the structure or function of the social and economic system. As such, mobility may be either the cause or the effect of a problem situation. Whatever the cause of movement, the rapid concentration of a population within an area may bring numerous social problems, as may also the rapid depopulation of an area. Again, the failure of a population to migrate or to shift occupationally in the face of a shifting socio-economic situation may result in serious social maladjustments.

The mobility aspects of a number of recent social problems may be cited briefly. The current economic depression has been accompanied by many types of mobility, some of the more important being occupational shifts and unemployment, migrations from urban centers to country and village areas, return migrations to the poor-land areas, increased transiency, cessation of migration from the high-increase areas of the rural districts, and forced migrations in the drouth-stricken areas.

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The relation of these movements of population to the problems of relief, resettlement, industrial revival, re-employment, land utilization, crop control, and social and economic security must be obvious to all.

It must be evident also that we know all too little concerning the extent and nature of the mobility of our population. Ours is probably the most mobile population in the world, yet we have amassed comparatively little scientific data concerning its movements. If there are any so-called "laws" of mobility, we should know what they are. At any rate we should have greater knowledge of the movements of our population for purposes of administering the affairs of state. It seems likely that internal mobility will continue to play an important rôle in our national life, though in a somewhat different manner, perhaps, than in the past. So long as migrations were toward free land or growing industrial centers, opportunity was fairly easy to locate. It now appears that opportunity becomes increasingly difficult to locate, and population movements tend to become more and more aimless in nature as well as quantitatively greater.

*Types of Population Mobility.* So far as spatial mobility is concerned, the two chief types are (1) mobility from a given place of abode, or domicile, and (2) mobility incident to change of domicile. With respect to the first of these types of mobility, little in the way of research has been done in the rural field. Hypes<sup>2</sup> has recently made some study of the commuter in rural Connecticut, taking an admittedly arbitrary definition of commuter. Burt<sup>3</sup> has studied some of the relations of mobility and contacts within a Missouri community. Students generally have recognized how transportation has shrunk the time element in intra-community mobility. On the whole, however, this area has not yet been adequately defined, and much more study will be necessary before these movements will be understood.

<sup>2</sup> J. L. Hypes, "Population Mobility in Rural Connecticut," *Bulletin No. 196*, Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station, Storrs, 1934, pp. 36 ff.

<sup>3</sup> H. J. Burt, "Contacts of a Rural Community," *Bulletin No. 125*, Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station, Columbia, 1929.



The second major type of spatial mobility, that incident to change of domicile, may be subdivided into the mobility of groups, such as families and households, and the mobility of individuals. This is the type of spatial mobility that has been studied most, for most of the socially significant migrations, such as the rural-urban migrations, belong to this type. A large mass of literature<sup>4</sup> has been written about the more obvious aspects of this type of mobility, but factual studies based upon carefully defined categories and rigid methods of procedure have been few. Some studies of the change of domicile of families engaged in agriculture have been made,<sup>5</sup> but other than these most of the attention has centered upon the mass movements of individuals from one political subdivision to another.

Again, change of domicile may be subdivided into (1) what may be styled "directional" mobility, or the movement of families and individuals to and from country, village and city; (2) what I have called "range" of mobility, or the radius of the area of circulation;<sup>6</sup> and (3) frequency of movement. Except for the literature on the settlement of the frontier, most of the emphasis, heretofore, has been placed upon the study of the direction of migration, i.e., the rural-urban movement.

With respect to occupational mobility, three major types may be distinguished: (1) horizontal mobility which involves occupational shifts at the same socio-economic level; (2) vertical mobility, which involves occupational shifts up or down the socio-economic scale; and (3) shifts

<sup>4</sup> See summaries and bibliographies of this literature in the various textbooks in rural sociology. See especially, P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology* (Minneapolis, 1932), III, 458-627; N. L. Sims, *Elements of Rural Sociology* (rev. ed.; New York, 1934), pp. 289-325; J. H. Kolb and E. deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society* (New York, 1935), pp. 214-227.

<sup>5</sup> See especially, U. S. Bureau of Census, *Census of Agriculture, 1925*, "Summary Report," pp. 82-87; U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Yearbook, 1923*, pp. 589-593; W. A. Anderson, "Mobility of Rural Families," *Bulletin No. 607*, Cornell Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, 1934; J. T. Sanders, "The Economic and Social Aspects of Mobility of Oklahoma Farmers," *Bulletin No. 195*, Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station, Stillwater, 1929; C. E. Lively and P. G. Beck, "Movement of Open Country Population in Ohio," *Bulletin No. 467*, Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, Wooster, 1930.

<sup>6</sup> Lively and Beck, *ibid.*, p. 34.

in the industrial classification which may involve either horizontal mobility, or vertical mobility, or both.

Finally, the relation of the various types of spatial and occupational mobility constitutes an important phase of the subject which must not be overlooked.

#### STUDIES OF MASS MOVEMENTS OF POPULATION

The mobility record must usually be an historical one. Since few people can tell in advance what their spatial or occupational movements are to be, it is not possible to collect mobility data at the point or time of its inception. It is seldom feasible to study population movements "in transit," for the avenues of migration are not likely to be known or controlled. Counting people through turnstiles has value under certain circumstances, but the most significant social movements are not so controlled. As a rule, therefore, the student must content himself with determining what occupational and spatial movements have occurred, and through his knowledge of the causal factors involved hazard some guess at the extent to which such movements will continue or tend to subside.

Studies of population mobility as it has occurred in the United States fall under two general heads: (1) mass changes in the population, or studies of mass mobility, and (2) studies of differential mobility. As different methods are employed in these two approaches, I shall discuss them separately.

The simplest studies of mass changes in the population are those studies which show the amount of increase or decrease in numbers of persons, or in density of population within an area during a given period, usually between two census years. Such changes are not entirely a matter of mobility, however, for they include the natural increase of the population as well as the migratory elements. The study of such population changes is useful, however, especially when the results are correlated with other known data for the areas in question, such as land value, income per capita, proportion of the population on relief,

and known socio-economic changes that have occurred concomitant with the changes in population.

An approximation to this method is obtained for intercensal years by using yearly changes in the school census. These changes have been used as a basis for calculating changes in the total population after a correction factor, obtained by comparing the school census of decennial years with the results of the Federal Census, has been applied. Apparently the method may be made valid for the study of general trends, but it does not distinguish between changes resulting from migration and from natural increase. For example, Allin's<sup>7</sup> conclusion that the population of the poor-land areas of the Appalachian highlands decreased from 1920 to 1929 and increased from 1929 to 1935, does not tell how much of the increase after 1929 was due to mere stoppage of emigration and how much was the result of immigration. Another limitation of this method is that even though the area-increases or decreases involve migration, the investigator is unable to discover whence the immigration has come or where it has gone. This is important. For example, to what extent, if any, has a new population contributed to the recent increases in the poor-land areas? Can these increases be attributed solely to the failure of natives to migrate plus the return of former residents?

A method of studying historically the movements of population on an interstate basis is made possible by the census enumerations of the state of birth of the population. Similar data are not available on a county basis. Recent studies by Galpin,<sup>8</sup> Anderson,<sup>9</sup> and Thornthwaite<sup>10</sup> make use of this method and contribute much to the broad historical picture of population trends and movements. It is not possible to tell

<sup>7</sup> B. W. Allin, "Changes in the School Census Since 1920," *Land Policy Review*, "Supplement No. 1," June, 1935, p. 9.

<sup>8</sup> C. J. Galpin and T. B. Manny, *Interstate Migrations Among the Native White Population as Indicated by Differences Between State of Birth and State of Residence* (U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, 1934).

<sup>9</sup> W. A. Anderson, "Movement of Population to and from New York State," *Bulletin No. 591*, Cornell Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, 1934.

<sup>10</sup> C. W. Thornthwaite, *Internal Migration in the United States* (Philadelphia, 1934).

from these data the age and sex composition of the migrants, the years in which they migrated from the state of birth and the route taken to the state of residence. Obviously the Federal Census cannot be expected to tabulate all of the data necessary to answer these questions, but it would be very helpful if the migrants were tabulated by state of birth, by age.

Another method of making mass studies of the migrations that have occurred in an area is that of first computing the natural increase for a period and then subtracting it from the total change occurring during that period. This surplus, or deficit, after the natural increase has been accounted for, represents the net change resulting from the migrations in and out of the area. The method is useful since it may be used for any area for which census data and births and deaths are available, assuming births and deaths to be allocated according to residence; but it fails to reveal the gross volume of migration into or out of the area, as well as what ages or classes have been affected.

Still another method that may be employed for these mass studies of migration is the use of survival rates (taken from life tables) to study migration during the intercensal periods. This method, recently used by Baker,<sup>11</sup> Hamilton,<sup>12</sup> and Thornthwaite,<sup>13</sup> makes it possible to study the effect of migration upon age groups and sex ratios, and may be employed for county as well as for state units. In this manner some study of differential mobility is made possible without field investigation.

What has been said regarding mass studies of spatial mobility applies in a general way to mass studies of occupational mobility. That is to say, mass shifts among the major occupational groups may be analyzed by sex for political units as small as the county, and also by age, if subdivisions smaller than the state are not desired. Such studies will

<sup>11</sup> O. E. Baker, "Agricultural and Forest Land," *Recent Social Trends* (New York, 1933), I, 111.

<sup>12</sup> C. H. Hamilton, "Rural-Urban Migration in North Carolina," *Bulletin No. 295*, North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, Raleigh, 1934.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*

possess more value when related to similar studies of spatial mobility in the same areas.

It appears evident, from this brief summary of the methods employed in studies of mass movement of population, that studies of this sort are useful in answering such questions as the following: What has been the change in the total number of persons and percentage of persons living in a given area? What has been the net result of migration into and out of that area? What has been the relative effect of these changes upon the sexes and upon the various age groups? What total distances have these mass migrations covered, in terms of counties or states? What has been the general direction of the movements as indicated by differential changes in density of the population? It is to be hoped that these methods of studying mass movements will be further refined and that new ones will be devised, but, even so, it will be necessary to resort to field studies of differential mobility in order to answer many of the most pertinent questions with respect to this subject.

#### FIELD STUDIES OF DIFFERENTIAL MOBILITY

Field studies of mobility are of particular value in establishing differentials with respect to the mobility of families and individuals. The spatial and occupational origins of the population of an area, the destination of those who migrate from an area and the steps in arriving there, the frequency of change of domicile, the direction of such movement and the radial distance of circulation, as well as the accompanying occupational shifts, may be obtained only by means of field investigation. Such data may be classified in any manner necessary to discover the group differentials and the various socio-economic factors correlated with them.

Quite obviously, field studies of mobility may be conducted either for the purpose of obtaining a general notion of the changes occurring in an area of considerable size, such as a state, and as such attempting to discover some general principles of mobility, or they may be conducted in special areas when there is need for administrative information bearing upon a particular situation. Wherever attempted, it should be

remembered that mobility data may be recorded in a variety of ways and that the method of recording and analyzing the data should have particular reference to the objectives of the study. Mere routine studies of mobility may not contribute much that is of value for particular purposes. This makes the problem of method of particular significance.

*Some Problems of Method.* If it be assumed that field studies of mobility will be made either in areas selected by a system of representative sampling from some relatively large area, such as a state, or upon the basis of the study of a discrete area of particular significance, we may pass the problem of area selection. After the areas for field study are selected, however, there still remains the problem of distinguishing the various types of mobility that occur there and of making certain that each type will be included in its proper proportion. For example, in a field study, an historical record of mobility must be obtained from the persons interviewed. The list of persons interviewed, however, will not include those persons who have lived within the area and subsequently left it, but only those persons residing in the area at the time of the investigation. In the main the persons who have left fall into two classes: individuals (with or without families) who are sons or daughters of families living in the area in question, and individuals (with or without families) who are otherwise related or unrelated to families living in the area. In order to obtain a complete mobility record for a given area it is evident that the mobility of these two classes must be included as well as that of the population in residence at the time of the survey. It was for this reason that we began a number of years ago in our Ohio studies to record the mobility, not only of the families living in the area surveyed, but also that of all living children who, having reached adult years, were no longer living in the parental household.

Possibly the best method of obtaining a record of those families that have removed from the area is that of recording the succession of occupants for each dwelling or farm. This method has recently been employed in South Dakota and Iowa. No satisfactory method has yet

been devised for recording the mobility of the non-family individuals who have lived in the area. Whether the number of such individuals living in the area at the time of the survey constitutes a fair sample of all such individuals would probably depend upon the date of the survey. Since most of these individuals are probably laborers, a knowledge of the labor situation in the survey areas would be necessary to answer the question.

A second problem of importance involves the period of time to be covered. Probably the ideal record would include the place of birth of each individual and, for each person old enough, a complete spatial and occupational history from age fifteen to the date of the survey. Such a record is usually impossible, however, and something more limited must suffice. Since it is desirable to know the origin of the population, either the place of birth or the place where childhood years were spent should be obtained. Perhaps one of these is as good as the other, perhaps not; their exact relationship has not yet been determined.

So far as change of domicile is concerned, it appears likely that the mobility record of children under fifteen will be practically identical with that of the parents for the same period. Indeed, there are grounds for the belief that, in certain cases at least, the record of change of domicile of the head of the family, or even of the head of the household, may be safely substituted for that of all members of the group. If this proposition should prove to be valid, the record of change of domicile of the population of an area could be reduced to the record of the heads of families and of non-family individuals. The problem would then become largely one of determining what portion of the life-span of these heads of families and non-family individuals should be covered. It may be true that the record, particularly for occupational changes, will become inaccurate in proportion to the length of the period covered, yet the stability of rural populations is such that unless a considerable time period is covered too little mobility will be obtained to make the data significant. I suggest ten years as a minimum period. It is true that with longer periods such small groups as the "odd jobs"

group will not be able to report all occupations correctly, but it appears to be largely a question of how much detail is essential. As a minimum record I suggest the place of origin (in terms of where born or where reared) of each head of family and non-family person and child of family heads fifteen years of age or over, the age at marriage and at leaving the parental home, and all changes of occupation and domicile during the ten years prior to the survey. This record may be supported by as much interpretative data as desired, and, if feasible, the mobility record may be extended to include all changes in occupation and domicile after age fifteen, or other specified age.

Several important questions of method are encountered when the student attempts to formulate the terms in which mobility shall be measured. Thus, in the case of change of domicile there appear to be three important aspects that require measurement. These are frequency of movement, radial distance or range of movement, and direction of movement. Since direction is concerned with movement from country to village, to city (and reverse), the accepted definition of these terms may be used and the order of residence readily stated. The other two types of movement present difficulties, however. Without raising the question as to what constitutes a change of domicile, it appears evident that while the student of mobility may be interested in obtaining a record of all changes of domicile, the objectives of any particular investigation may be such as to make such thoroughness impossible. For example, it may be found desirable in some studies to ignore changes of domicile that do not carry the family beyond the limits of a given village, township, or even county. If these variations are to occur, it will be highly desirable that the definitions be clear and that the categories used fit together so that results from various studies may be compared; for, however it may be defined, the number of changes of domicile, or the percentage of families changing domicile, represents one usable measure of spatial mobility. It can be expressed either in terms of the average number of moves made by a given group, or in terms of the percentage of persons or families making a specified number of moves.



What has been said regarding the measurement of frequency of change of domicile applies with considerable force to the measurement of radial distance moved or "range of mobility." Apparently most people not only move short distances when they move, but they do not keep moving in the same general direction. That is to say, most people when they change domicile tend to keep moving about within a somewhat restricted area. It is important to measure this radial distance, both from the standpoint of determining from what distances immigrants have been drawn into a given area, and also from the standpoint of determining the extent to which natives of the area, having previously migrated from it, have subsequently returned. This phase might be called, by analogy, the centripetal aspect of spatial mobility. On the other hand, it is equally important to measure the centrifugal aspect, or the radial distance to which population originating in a given area has traveled. Some students<sup>14</sup> of the subject have employed the system of concentric political areas as a rough measure of this type of movement. It is a convenient device and I believe that the results so obtained can serve as a satisfactory substitute for the more exact results obtained by the use of a mileage measure.

Certain problems of definition are encountered in attempting to measure occupational change. The usual shifts from industry to industry, from job to job, and from one socio-economic class to another may be accepted, but the student of mobility must go beyond these. He must deal with such questions as: when does a worker become unemployed, when does an employee become a worker on his own account, and what constitutes a change in location of work? Although these questions may appear to be very simple at first approach, these and many others must be answered in terms of definitions that will bring sufficient uniformity to make the results of various studies comparable. The instructions to enumerators formulated by Dr. Taeuber and me for the

<sup>14</sup> E. G. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, LII (1889), 242 ff.; Lively and Beck, *op. cit.*; Anderson, *op. cit.*

mobility project suggested to the states by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration make an attempt at some of these definitions.

The problem of sampling for mobility data has not yet been attacked. We are not sufficiently informed regarding the degree of variation in mobility data (either among various geographic areas or among occupational and socio-economic groups within the same area) to formulate reliable principles of sampling procedure. Probably studies of the immediate future should proceed by the census method until these variations can be determined. Studies now under way in Ohio, Iowa, and South Dakota should throw some light upon this question.

*Results of Recent Studies.* During the past year, field studies of rural population mobility have been undertaken by rural sociologists in a number of states in coöperation with the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, or under Works Progress Administration auspices. Most of these projects have not yet reached the summary stage. It is possible, however, to offer some of the findings of the Ohio project which comprehended ten rural townships and a total of 2,554 village and open-country households. The following is a brief summary of conclusions reached up to the time of preparing this paper.

1. Origin of the population of the areas surveyed. Measured in terms of place of rearing, the population of the sample areas was predominantly local in origin. More than three-fourths of the adult population originated either in the county of the survey or in adjoining counties. In general, the more rural the area, the more restricted was the area of origin. There was no significant difference between the origin of the village and open-country populations, nor between the relief and non-relief populations. The high correlation between the place of origin of the heads of households makes it appear that the origin of the former is all that is necessary to indicate the origin of the entire population of the households.

2. Changes in domicile, 1928-35. Defining change of domicile as any change which carried the family beyond the limits of the township or village of residence at the time of the survey, nearly three-fourths

of the families had no change of domicile. Less than 10 per cent of the families had moved more than once. There was scarcely any variation between village and open-country, relief and non-relief groups, in the same territory. Greatest stability was found in the most rural areas and least in the most urbanized areas. The curve of the percentage of families moving a specified number of times takes the general form of an hyperbola.

3. Radial distance of circulation, or range of movement. Measuring the range of movement in terms of concentric political areas (beginning with the township or village of residence and adding consecutively the county of residence, adjoining counties, other counties in the same state, adjoining states, other states, and foreign countries) nearly 85 per cent of the families had not lived outside the county of residence during the period, 1928-35, and more than 90 per cent had not circulated beyond adjoining counties. Village families were slightly more stable than open-country families, and non-relief families than relief families in the same territory. Least stability was found in the most urbanized areas. The curve formed by plotting the percentage of families circulating within specified concentric areas resembles an hyperbola with variations arising out of the local situation.

4. Relation of number of changes of domicile and radial distance of circulation. There was no significant correlation between these two variables. There was little or no disposition for the average number of moves to increase as the range of mobility increased. The reason appeared to be that when they moved, most of these families moved but short distances and also circulated about within a rather limited area. On the other hand, families moving long distances did not proceed to their ultimate destination by a series of short moves but by long jumps. Hence, two somewhat independent measures of mobility are indicated.

5. Occupation and range of mobility. Only slight differences in the radial distance of circulation were noted among the occupational groups with two exceptions. The professional and semi-skilled groups showed significantly greater mobility than the other socio-economic groups.

The professional group, however, was of insignificant size. Farm tenants and farm laborers, both more unstable than farm owners, were almost identical in their range of mobility. Family heads with a supplementary occupation were slightly more mobile than heads with no supplementary occupation.

6. Age and range of mobility. Significant differences were noted among the age groups of heads of families in all areas and classes. The general tendency appeared to be that the radial distance of circulation decreased with age. The ranges of movement of village and open-country family heads of each age group were very similar, as were those of the relief and non-relief groups. Heads of families under thirty-five years of age and on relief, however, showed markedly greater mobility than those of the same age not on relief.

7. Urban-rural migration, 1928-35. Of the families living in the areas surveyed, 8.5 per cent had lived in the city at some time after January 1, 1928. There is no record of the number that had left the areas for the cities and had not returned. There was a tendency for children who had left their parental homes in these areas prior to 1929 to gravitate toward the parental territory after 1929. This shift reduced the number living in cities of less than 100,000 population by 8.4 per cent and those living in cities of more than 100,000 by 11.2 per cent. Children who left the parental home before 1929, however, showed more evidence of return migration than those who left after 1929. The occupational groups most affected were the unskilled workers and those not gainfully employed. While the return migrations have been a factor in the recent increase in the rural population of these Ohio areas, in view of the increase in the age group 16 to 25 in these areas, it seems probable that failure of youth to emigrate has been of equal importance, perhaps more so.

8. On the basis of the findings to date it appears evident that in any study of mobility conducted on a sampling basis, two differential factors that must be given consideration in sample selection are geographic differences and age composition of the population.

# Littleville: a Parasitic Community During the Depression

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COMMUNITIES,<sup>1</sup> like other organisms, include parasitic types. This study of Littleville shows how an almost chronically parasitic community greatly improved itself during the recent depression. Parasitic organisms generally exhibit some degeneration in the structures essential for non-parasitic life. Littleville has followed this rule. Its organs for non-parasitic existence have atrophied from disuse, while those for collective exploitation of the outer world have been sharpened. During the depression the economic conditions of Littleville improved. This is due to its long training in the field of parasitic existence which has made it more adept at exploiting such opportunities.

During 1935 Littleville had a higher percentage of its population receiving public relief than any other city or town in its state. It was once an Indian reservation where the people lived by general farming and fishing. At that time the people were scattered on typical farmsteads about the farm area. Most of the lands are now sold to the summer residents, real estate speculators, private sporting clubs, or

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<sup>1</sup> The term "community" is given a compound definition for purposes of this study. We shall not attempt to define it here. In this study we are using the typological method. We have picked out one phase of community behavior which is characteristic of the community and have discussed it in the light of a concrete case where it is developed to a marked degree.

cranberry companies. The natives have moved to small, dilapidated homesteads on the roads near the center, and live as wage-earners, work for the town, or are on relief. The lands have been neglected for years. Former manufacturing industries, fishing, and trade have declined.

Littleville was administered as an Indian reservation by state-appointed overseers and guardians until 1763. A venture in home rule during the next twenty-four years was unsuccessful, so in 1788 it returned to the reservation status. In 1870 the district was again incorporated under home rule. Under the administration of the state the selling of land was not permitted. Under town government, this entail upon real estate was removed. The present townsfolk hold in fee simple less than one thousand out of about fourteen thousand acres of land. In 1932 the state appointed a special commission to regulate the town finances.

Littleville is in the heart of a summer residential area. The topography is generally smooth and rolling, broken by erosion channels and by numerous inlets along the sea shore. Both the surface and the soil, which is light and sandy, are characteristic glacial deposits with good drainage. Rainfall is evenly distributed. Although the summers are short and cool, the average growing season is about six months in length. It is adapted to the dairy and poultry industries and, in a lesser degree, to the production of vegetables, fruits, hay, and forage. Other crops, with the exception of cranberries, probably could never be of commercial value. In spite of these possibilities, not one farm was reported by the Census of 1930. The potential farming possibilities in the area exceed any past development.

#### POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

The Little tribe has always occupied this area. As far back as 1616 a plague wiped out whole villages. The coming of the white man marked the beginning of a long period of disruption among the natives. The white men increased and prospered in the region and assumed

charge of all things from land to religion. Demoralization increased. The Indians decreased rapidly.

However, the population maintained itself better in Littleville than in many other Indian communities. For example, in 1802 there were 380 inhabitants and in 1820 the number was 320, a very slight shrinkage. But these figures are misleading. This approximate stability of the population was not due to the birth-rate but to immigration. The town was a refuge where no inhabitant was taxed. Indians from other tribes, and Negroes, drifted to the town. Miscegenation was so common that at least two-thirds of the inhabitants had mixed blood by 1792. The population figures led to the mistaken belief that the district was a model community. Later, more Negroes came. By the end of the Civil War the racial composition was far more Negroid than Indian.

In the nineteenth century a new ingredient was added to the already miscellaneous blood of Littleville. Every ship returning by way of the Cape Verde Islands brought a few Bravas, or black Portuguese. The resulting mixture of blood has almost completely annihilated the Indian strain. "Only now and then, as one makes one's way through the village, is the eye caught by some leather-skinned veteran whose high cheekbones, thin lips, and straight hair suggest that his ancestors once chipped arrow-heads. . . ."

At least two important characteristics of the population of Littleville should be noted. The high, although gradually declining, birth-rate indicates the extent to which this has remained a closed community. Business depressions have had little apparent effect on the vital statistics. The recent precipitous decline of the birth-rate throughout the country has shown almost no counterpart in Littleville.

The second characteristic is the extensive emigration from the town which must be inferred from the almost stationary population in spite of the high birth-rate. The rate of emigration or immigration, calculated by five-year periods from the population figures and vital statistics, shows that net population movements into Littleville occurred in only

four of the twelve five-year periods between 1870 and 1930. The last movement, between 1925 and 1930, was probably due to depressed business in the cities. The immigration between 1920 and 1925 is probably explained by the increased opportunities of employment created by the expanding summer population. A definite trait of the population is a desire for quick and easy cash rewards for intermittent employment; no premium is attached to steady work. Another explanation certainly lies in increased opportunities for employment by the town, as tax receipts from non-residents increased entirely out of proportion to the size of the resident population. As many as 90 per cent of the resident families have been represented by one or more individuals on the town payroll, as we shall show later.

The preponderant trend of population movement, however, has been out of the town. The net loss from 1870 to 1930 was 194 persons. The young men went to sea during the prosperity of the fishing industries, and at a later time sought employment in the nearby industrial towns. The present inhabitants of Littleville confirm the report that many of these migrants settled permanently elsewhere. With its high birth-rate and persistent emigration, the town has served as a population source until its relatively greater economic attractions recently reversed the direction of population movement.

A study of these migratory movements points to a further trait of this group—an apparent group-feeling that Littleville is home. To what extent this feeling is due to color, race, temperament, interests, or kinship cannot be shown. It is demonstrated in a recent study of racial types in the town made immediately following the influx of population during the twenties. This study indicated a very marked homogeneity of physical types, from which it may be concluded that the population influx consisted largely of former residents of Littleville.

In most cases, where outside employment has been lost, the motive for returning seems to have been a desire for a secure congeniality rather than the economic attractions. Undoubtedly the group feeling in Littleville, enhanced by racial and temperamental differences, is



vastly stronger than in the average rural white community. In many individual instances, loss of outside employment, and possibly some loss of ambition, has served primarily as an *excuse* to return to the home group.

In point of numbers, the chief population movements in Littleville fall under two headings: first, the summer and tourist population, and second, the migration of resident and neighboring-town population for seasonal employment. More than one hundred cottages and camps house from 300 to 400 visitors for short or long stays during the summer, and in some cases from early spring to late autumn. In addition to these cottage residents, the summer population includes about seventy boys who remain for an eight-week season at a camp. A group of sportsmen, who have leased trouting rights from the town, spend weekends in Littleville. Also a number of non-resident woodland owners spend one or more days in the community clearing undergrowth or hunting.

Movements of resident population in response to opportunities for employment constitute the second type of migration. Each spring a large number of residents find employment at the summer estates, cottages, clubs, golf courses, or boat yards. The women work as housecleaners, cooks, laundresses, and housekeepers. Some of them work away from home by the day and others live at their place of employment. The men work as caretakers, caddies, laborers, boathands, and the like. Relations between the natives and the summer population, despite the employment bond, continue to be remote. From the psychological point of view, Littleville is a "closed" community.

This second type of migration also includes many other seasonal employments. These are usually on a daily basis. From early summer through September, the men collect scallops, clams, and quahogs, hunt game in the wooded sections of the town, and work in the cranberry bogs. A few take advantage of the herring runs. Others work by the day on the roads, in the cemeteries, at pest control, or other town employment. A large number of outsiders are employed in the cranberry

bogs during the summer because they will accept lower wages than the natives. A few of these even live in the bogs, occupying "bog-houses" or single-room shacks throughout the year.

The great extent of this seasonal migration is particularly important because most of the earned income of the natives, even including the receipts from town employment, is derived at a distance from their homes, in another section of the township if not in a neighboring township. Exceptions are the town officers, school teachers, librarian, other town employees, the proprietors of the hotel and of the four small retail outlets, and a few who do some farming, smoke herring, or some handicraft work. In general, however, the cash income is derived from widely scattered sources, non-resident-owned property, and from outside capital. This is the recurrent theme of parasitism found in all of Littleville's activities.

If the employable age be arbitrarily set at 14 to 55, about 57 per cent of the population were eligible in 1915, barring the factors of sex and physical disabilities. In 1934 the proportion had dropped to 46 per cent. When sex and age factors are eliminated, the number of employable persons declined from 43 to 33 per cent within twenty years. A town which lives on wages and cash should, in theory, need increased earning power with decreased proportions of workers. Under parasitic conditions, however, with most of the population supported by relief or the distribution of taxes upon non-residents, much of the significance of the sudden drop in relative earning power is lost.

Prior to the World War the average family was only slightly larger than the average rural family in the state. Since that time, however, the trend has been toward larger families, which is contrary to the tendency elsewhere. The average size of family in the town, according to the state censuses since 1875, was 4.21 in 1875, 3.96 in 1905, and 4.28 in 1934. This divergence from an almost universal trend in family size in rural communities and its persistently high birth-rate marks Littleville as a closed or isolated community with an independent economic and social standard. The contrast between this community and

the entire state can be shown even more clearly. In the state, families of six or more persons accounted for 32 per cent of the population; in Littleville the families of six or more persons accounted for 54 per cent of the population. The average size of family in Littleville receiving relief in June, 1935, was over seven persons. Seventy per cent of the members of these relief families were under 21 years of age. The need and, at the same time, the claim for aid increases with the size of the family. Under the parasitic assumption of continued public support, no economic premium is placed on the small family.

### MAKING A LIVING

The community depends for a living primarily on tax receipts from non-residents, on town and federal relief, and on certain seasonal industries. A list follows of the chief sources of income in 1934, representing both cash and goods incomes, arranged as nearly as possible in descending order of importance:

*Township.*—Expenditures of the town in salaries and wages for direct employment constitute this class. This includes salaries of selectmen, school teachers, assessors, auditors, librarian, constables, wardens, etc.; and wages for labor on highways, in forest-fire control, at snow and ice removal, for janitors' services, for mosquito and gypsy moth elimination, etc. Deducting the amount returned to the town in taxes, residents received between \$18,000 and \$19,000 in 1934 from this source, which was derived mostly from non-resident real estate owners.

*Charity and Relief Employment—Town and Federal.*—This includes local charity from town appropriations (*e.g.*, old-age assistance, mothers' aid, soldiers' relief), and federal allotments for relief projects and distribution of commodities. In 1934 residents of the town received from \$13,000 to \$14,000 in this form.

*Seasonal Industries* (except employment by summer population).—This category includes labor in cranberry bogs, shellfishing, herring fishing, other fishing, hunting. It has been estimated that the taking of shellfish brought an income to the town of not more than \$5,000. Another \$4,000 to \$5,000 was received for labor in the cranberry industry. It is impossible to estimate the income from herring, other fishing, and hunting. The latter in particular is followed by a large number, usually for diversion. The income, in food, from this source is considerable, but its cash value cannot be ascertained.

*Employment by the Summer Population.*—This source of income includes direct employment by summer residents for housekeeping, cooking, caretaking,

gardening, boat-tending and the like, and indirect employment by clubs, hotels, tourist houses or stands, and other businesses associated with the summer traffic, such as caddying, caring for grounds, and housekeeping. No estimate of the extent of this employment can be made. The 1934 income from this source was less than that five years, or even three years, earlier.

*Part-time Farming.*—This embraces food income from small kitchen gardens, some fruit trees, and poultry, which is kept by a large part of the households. The gardens are small and very limited in kind and quantity. No resident of the town is engaged solely in agriculture.

*Local Trade.*—Here are classed the incomes of the proprietors or employees of four small retail outlets and of one hotel. The income from trade within the town, in 1934, was not over \$6,000.

*Miscellaneous.*—This includes two professional workers, the postmaster of the town, and residents with full-time employment in other towns (two or three persons in 1934). Lumber for fuel, berries collected and canned, and other goods received by direct appropriation for consumption are also important.

This classification shows in a striking manner the extreme dependence of Littleville on parasitic sources of income. While this characteristic is exaggerated in 1934, the year shown, it has been only a little less emphatic in the years before the recent depression. Equally characteristic is the extent of dependence on cash for income. This is unusual for a rural community with no industries.

In contrast to this economic outline of the town in 1934, the following description is given for 1815. This represents the earliest comprehensive picture of the community which is available. It will be seen that during the 120 intervening years, although considerable self-support has been lost, the economic changes have by no means been fundamental in nature:

... The land which has been cleared, is chiefly on the necks near the harbors, and on the banks of the rivers and lakes. ... The cleared land has been estimated at about 1200 acres. The soil is easily tilled; and produces Indian corn from seven to twenty bushels by the acre, and about one third as much rye. ... Not much oats and no barley are produced. The land is at present not manured by fish. The Indians use little barn dung; but about their hovels and stacks their land grows better. Some of them are farmers, and keep oxen; many of them own a cow, and a few sheep; and perhaps half a dozen of them possess horses. Besides corn and rye the Indians raise potatoes.

... One half of the marsh land (160 acres held by the overseers) is leased for the common benefit of the plantation. The overseers do not allow more wood to be carried to market, than can be spared; but it is for the general interest, that three or four hundred cords should be annually exported to . . . other places. Beside these sources of income, several families of whites are tenants, and pay rent to the overseers for the benefit of the Indians. These monies are applied to the use of the poor, sick, and schools, and to the current expenses of the plantation. . . . Neither the lands nor the persons of the Indians . . . are taxed; nor are they required to perform services to the government in any way.

... Beside the farmers, some of the men are whalers; others catch trout, alewives, and other fish in the rivers. Several of the women cultivate the ground; and many of them make brooms and baskets and sell them among their white neighbors, but more frequently [sell them elsewhere]. . . . A few of the women manufacture their wool and clothe themselves and their husbands with the labour of their own hands. A very few of them make butter and cheese. Several of the young females go to the large seaport towns for months together, and serve in gentlemens' kitchens, to the great injury of their morals; . . .

... The inhabitants of this place are poor; and several of them are entirely supported by the guardians. At times all of them require relief. Their stores are generally very small, as an Indian depends for his daily bread upon his daily success; . . .

... the . . . River, for want of regulation, is in danger of being ruined. It formerly netted the proprietors a considerable sum for the support of their poor, but of late the emoluments of this noble River have been small. . . .

The similarities between the economic circumstances of the town in 1815 and in 1934 are in many ways striking. Most important of these are the dependence on relief or charity in some form, dependence on the overseers (comparable in certain respects to the town employment prevalent today), indifference to farming, almost complete dependence on out-of-town sources of income, and the household employment of Littleville women by white residents of neighboring towns. The rents collected from the former fifteen or twenty white families and applied to the expenses of the community are also comparable to the non-resident taxes collected by the town in 1934.

Contrary to these statements, however, many families raised nearly all the food necessary for subsistence before 1900, when there was less parasitic specialization. Farms were widespread and well cultivated.

Indian corn and a variety of vegetables were raised. There was a good supply of livestock—horses, cows, oxen, pigs, and chickens. The process of weaning the people away from this way of life was gradual but complete. It began with the growth of the cranberry industry in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Cranberry bogs were originally developed by local people, but were soon sold to more experienced growers outside of the town. The local people, preferring cash payment for a day's labor gathering berries to the deferred and less tangible income from farming, began to forsake their own fields. They sold their farm lands in the outlying districts and bought small plots on the main highway, where they constructed their homes. This exodus of families from widely scattered places, where they had relatively large holdings of land, to a central point in the town was very general. The native townsfolk will often point out sites, now covered with undergrowth and small trees, which were once prosperous farms.

About 1900 the trend away from agriculture received further impetus. The towns in the neighborhood began to attract a large number of summer vacationists. Most of these temporary residents required the services of one or more persons in their households. Such employment was congenial to the natives because it offered definite compensation with a minimum of responsibility. During the depression this type of work became more scarce, but it had already helped in taking the people away from the farms.

Agriculture being neglected, the community today is not self-supporting. The techniques of farming are foreign to most of the inhabitants and further still from their interests. Their land holdings are a small fraction of what they were and farm implements are a thing of the past. There are only eight cows in the town, so that many residents are forced to buy milk from outside.

There have been very few manufacturing plants. About 1850 a small textile plant operated for a few years, and for a brief period there was a broom factory, the Littleville Manufacturing Company, located on

the river. Both of these failed. At one time there were two grist mills in the town. Several attempts to sell Indianware have also failed.

Fishing has always been a minor industry. There are now twenty-five boats—twenty-one are rowboats—used in gathering scallops and quahogs. This occupation brings a yearly income of not more than \$5,000.

Changes can be clearly shown by a study of Littleville's records. In 1889 there were 66 horses and 77 cattle, or a total of 143 animals, taxed. By 1896 there were only 55 horses, 16 cows, and 11 other cattle; a total of 82 taxed. In 1900 the total was still 82. By 1905 it was 50; 1910, 46; 1915, 32; 1920, 30; 1925, 37; 1930, 11; and 1934, 8. Few pigs have been reported on the assessors' lists since 1900.

#### TAXING THE OUTSIDER

The chief means of parasitic existence in this community is by taxing the outsiders who own property. These tax revenues are dispersed among the "members" of the community in order to give them an easy parasitic living. The mechanisms of this parasitism include the alienation of responsibilities but not of the privileges. They sell most of the land to outsiders, keeping a small amount for themselves. Then the tax rates or assessed values are raised for the outsiders and reduced for themselves. They are thus able to secure more and more money for the community fund and yet themselves pay proportionately less. Furthermore, where the letter of the law permits, they exempt themselves from taxation.

Immediately after the entailment on property was removed in 1870, outsiders purchased the cheap woodlands, shore fronts, and cranberry bogs, which the community was only too eager to exchange for usable cash. In 1871, 48 outsiders held 11 per cent of the property in the district; in 1934, 666 outsiders held 86 per cent of the assessed property. During these 74 years the number of resident taxpayers dropped from 96 to 93, while the number of men paying only poll taxes jumped from 11 to 75.

It should not be assumed that any anticipation of taxes led to this hasty disposal of the town lands. The reasons were several. To the Littles, cash meant more than the utility of land. To make a living from land meant hard work, thrift, and patience, and netted little tangible income. On the other hand, opportunities were multiplying for intermittent employment with cash wages: in the broom and brush factory, the woolen mill, the barrel mill, the cranberry bogs, and the homes of neighboring summer residents. The coincidence of removal of entailment on property and the new cash opportunities which the white outsider was providing left the Littles no desire to keep their lands. Responsibilities also disappeared with the lands and the farms.

But it was not the expectancy of tax revenue that brought about the sale of land. Even in 1900 the property and the taxes were about equally divided between the residents and the outsiders, and the tax rate was still at a reasonable level. Excessive taxes for the town of 300 inhabitants first appeared during the World War with the discovery that what was taken in from the outsiders would support an absurdly heavy town governmental structure, supplying jobs for all and involving little expense for any. With the high taxes also came the evolution of a system of subventions—exemptions, abatements, and reassessments for the resident taxpayer.

The technique of assessing high taxes upon the outsider and of granting subventions to members of the "family" is definitely a recent development in Littleville. But the parasitic principle and the parasitic psychology, which had been impressed upon the Littles by state supervision and by racial differences for 300 years, undoubtedly developed this particular mechanism of parasitism to its full extent within a very short time.

In 1934, 86 per cent of the real property in Littleville was in the hands of 666 outsiders. With the exception of one real estate interest, which contributed 12 per cent of the non-resident taxes, no group or individual paid more than 3 per cent of these taxes. The average non-resident tax was approximately \$40. This division of property into



small holdings has certainly favored the tax policies of Littleville. The non-resident taxpayers have never thought of disputing these policies, either collectively or singly. Lowered assessments and increased exemptions on resident property, since 1930, have reduced the tax burden on residents one-quarter during the four depression years.

It has been the "tax-the-outsider" policy more than any other factor which has lifted Littleville out of the depression today. Between 1920 and 1930 tax receipts more than tripled; from 1930 to 1934 they fell off from \$33,281 to \$30,325, a decline of only 8 per cent. However, the amount of town money paid directly to the residents in wages, salaries, and cash, during these four depression years, increased slightly. With the changes in purchasing power, and the state and federal relief, the total income of the Littles has increased at least one-third since the beginning of the depression. Only one resident of Littleville today pays an income tax, and yet, despite the decline in summer employment, the average family income is greater than ever before. Nearly 90 per cent of the town's population has benefited directly by these fruits.

The significance of this development can be seen by studying the tax rolls. Resident property taxpayers increased from 96 in 1871 to 117 in 1900 and then declined to 83 in 1920 and 93 in 1934. Non-resident property taxpayers increased from 48 to 666, or 14 times, during this period. Between 1871 and 1880 they doubled in number, and between 1910 and 1920 they almost tripled. Property taxes paid by residents rose from \$383 in 1871 to \$5,796 in 1930, an increase of 15 times; whereas non-resident property taxes rose from \$47 in 1871 to \$27,485 in 1930, an increase of 59 times. Between 1930 and 1934 resident property taxes dropped \$1,443, or 25 per cent of the 1930 total, and non-resident property taxes \$1,513, or 5.5 per cent.

It is significant to note the relation between the property taxpayers and the voters. Property owners increased from 144 in 1871 to 759 in 1934. Ordinarily, each piece of property is now owned by a family which has two potential voters—a man and a wife. In the earlier years

the family had only the vote of the male poll taxpayer. Since then the number of male poll taxpayers has mounted from 69 to 121. Ordinarily, each male poll taxpayer now represents two votes (since the women vote now but pay no poll tax). We may roughly assume that the increase in the number of property owners represents the potential *property* interest and the number of male polls represents comparable *political enfranchisement*. Since property owners increased more than five times and male polls less than two times in number, there was a continuous disfranchisement of the propertied class between 1871 and 1934.

But this does not tell the whole story. The poll taxpayers only, those paying no property tax in the town and yet voting, increased from 11 to 75, or seven times, during this period. In 1871 the proportion of male polls (male voters) paying property tax was 84, and in 1934 it was 38. Even in 1920, 63 per cent, or about two-thirds, of the potential male voters were assessed property taxes.

In 1871 the town was run by 69 male voters, 58 of whom paid property taxes. In 1934 the town was run by 121 male voters and the females (mostly in the same families). Of these 121 male voters, 75 paid poll tax only and 46 paid both property and poll taxes.

A comparison of the ratio of property taxpayers who also had the right to vote (paid poll taxes) to all assessed property owners for the period since 1871, shows that propertied male polls were 40 per cent of the number of assessed property owners in 1871 and 6 per cent after 1920. In other words, 94 per cent of the property of the town was physically disfranchised in the post-war period. Of those who voted and spent the town money after 1920, 6 per cent were property owners and 94 per cent non-property owners. Those who paid the taxes were composed of 6 per cent voters and 94 per cent non-voters. Under such conditions, the relative value of the dollar for public expenditures was decided by persons who had little comprehension of its value to the property owner.

## RELIEF

Relief has always been a mechanism for achieving the parasitic ends of the community. However, in the last few years this has so increased in significance that it amounts to at least two-thirds as much as taxing the outsider. This is not the first time that relief has assumed importance. However, the present relief expenditures are far greater than ever before.

References to earlier relief conditions have already been made. From year to year the proprietors of the reservation reported large proportions of the population on relief. For a century following the Revolution the state legislature appropriated from \$100 to \$500 annually for the paupers of the district, supplementing amounts raised by the proprietors from rents and sale of lumber.

Relief of this sort, however, has not been a consistent phase of the support of the community. From 1870 to 1929 the proportion of the town budget allotted to charity declined from nearly one-third to as little as 5 or 6 per cent. With the exception of the World War period, the number of cases of relief seldom reached ten and averaged less than five, or about 7 per cent of the families of the town. Depressed summer-resort business and the still little-developed "tax-the-outsider" policy made state aid necessary for a space of four or five years during the War.

From 1925 to 1933 the families represented on relief moved up to 59, or two-thirds of the town's population. It was because the profitable parasitism of the community was misjudged from the outside that the Red Cross provided clothing in large quantities and the state and federal governments interceded to support the Littles. Conditions were at no time in danger of becoming intolerable. The number of registered automobiles declined slightly, then increased. The town treasury furnished \$5,000 a year when it could have supplied more. Natives still speak of the hard straits of the town, and refer to the slashes in salaries of the town officers, but the scaler of weights and measures and the harbor master continue to draw pay. The proportion of the

budget given to general government (*i.e.*, salaries and expenses of officers) in 1934 was still four times the proportion found in other rural towns of similar size in the state. This town spends \$4,000 to \$5,000 for general government each year, whereas the average community its size in the state spends from \$800 to \$1,500.

No town in the state had a higher proportion of its population on relief than Littleville in 1934. But probably no town in the state at present has a lower economic standard of living than Littleville. Here we differentiate sharply between the economic and the other phases of the standard of living. The Littles have a low material standard of living, but morally and mentally they appear to be the average of the state. Mentally, the population seem in excellent condition. Their town books show more originality than the average in towns of its size. The extreme relief situation reflects the response to easily accessible funds of a community that is highly receptive and adapted to any form of parasitic economy. A complete lack of non-parasitic pride in becoming wards of the government is one expression of the parasitic background. They expect their "share" of public money and are proud of their ability as "sharers."

Relief as it now exists, however, is purely supplementary to the more basic town-employment form of parasitism. It has been the high eligibility of the community for relief from outside, over and above other income, that has produced a relative prosperity in Littleville unknown in its history (possibly with the exception of the period from 1870 to 1880, when lands were first being sold and industries were being promoted by outside interests).

Now the question arises: How has the relief money been spent? It is a part of a more general question: Are the parasitic endeavors of the community preparatory to self-sustenance or independent existence, or are they part of a permanent program of continued dependence? Has relief money prepared the families to go off relief? Has the increase in town expenditures prepared the families eventually to reduce these parasitic outlays? The facts seem to show that the non-

parasitic organs have degenerated. The gardening, sewing, seed and shellfish projects, even the project for painting the public buildings, were failures.

#### THE MECHANISMS OF SUCCESS AT PARASITIC EXISTENCE

Let us try to describe briefly this interesting type of community behavior. Parasitic existence is found to some extent in all communities. The interesting thing about Littleville is its rather successful development to provide almost a complete existence for the community. The questions are: How did it happen? How does it work?

Opportunity has been one of the outstanding factors. This community is located in a favorable place for making such a living. Others wish to use the region for a part of each year and do not mind paying for the privilege. It is not like a community with a single big factory or taxpayer. If a factory is taxed too much, it is capable of defending itself, in part, through legal action. It may harm the parasite by removal from the community or by failure. This potential threat tends, in many cases, to subdue the parasitic activities. But the people upon whom Littleville depends each pay but a small amount. They generally live in large cities where costs of living are high, so that the taxes on small summer lots in Littleville do not appear large to them. Furthermore, the location is such that if they lose their places through town assumption of tax titles, there is always someone else who seems willing to assume the burden of absentee ownership.

Another important factor is the historical training in parasitic behavior which has been given the community since 1660. This was largely an accident at the beginning, but has become more important as time has gone on.

However, in addition to opportunity, location, and training, certain very efficient mechanisms for carrying on this behavior have been worked out. Some of these may be described as follows.

The people hold together through their community solidarity. Race and cultural background help in this. Like a well-disciplined army, not one individual is permitted to get out of step. It takes some energy

and singleness of purpose to make a living even as a parasite. This type of energy is always well organized and attended to. A relief official who tried to keep relief down to "need" was soon replaced by another with more local patriotism. He was a more devoted member of the family of Littles.

A second principle is that of making friends and avoiding ill feeling with outsiders. Some of the mechanisms by which this is accomplished are politeness and good-natured intercourse with outsiders indiscriminately. The Littles are always extremely polite. Everyone speaks well of them. No matter at what time one enters the community, one is always assured of a cheery welcome. Visitors to the community have at times left them money on account of their "politeness."

A third principle is that of avoiding any great friendships with outsiders, except where these friendships prove lucrative to the community. The advantage of this is that few really know enough about the community to point out its parasitic nature and these are very friendly toward the Littles. The insiders have become so accustomed to their methods that they feel that such is the right way to live. Consequently, they never gossip about their peculiar methods of living even when they are aware of their differences.

The next principle is that of facile change in allegiance as circumstances dictate. This is shown by a study of their voting. When the country is Republican, they also are Republican. When third parties increase in strength, they also swing toward the third parties. When the Democrats come into power, they vote Democratic. However, they always avoid the implication that they will continue with any one party any longer than the circumstances are favorable to them. They accommodate readily in the reduction of taxes—but they reduce their own taxes most rapidly. They are always affable and obliging.

A further aid is that the community records are sometimes in such a shape that the facts about the community seem somewhat disguised. However, this is largely unintentional. For their purposes, they can remember what they need to know. However, let us repeat, this is like

all their parasitic existence, unconscious and not premeditated. This is the easiest and most agreeable way for them to live.

Along with these principles, prestige has its values. They all believe that in one way or another they are descendants from the Indians who once owned this country. They still report themselves as Indians, although a century ago less than 20 per cent of the blood was Indian. Thus, they keep an interesting tradition alive which makes them and others feel that the whites really owe them a living.

Another helpful type of behavior is that of securing outside sponsors. Enterprise never comes apparently from within. They remain "nice folks in need." The outside sponsor vouches for them and raises money for the factory, the new building, the cranberry bog, or the relief. These sponsors are of two types—those who give relief unquestioningly and those who think that they can make money by exploiting the local resources. However, the exploiting outsider fails to consider that the local voters will tax him to get the benefit of the resources. But everything is done nicely and both enjoy the mutual opportunities for exploitation.

Another aid is the tradition that the people are somewhat incapable of making a living non-parasitically. When one sees the people he sees no signs of physical degeneration. But when one reads the books written about them, he repeatedly finds the conclusion that something is the matter with the people.

A final method is that of spending visible assets today and keeping only hidden assets. The people get money for work and spend it quickly. They keep automobiles and other things which use up their money rapidly. At any one time they do not have a great deal accumulated. They know unconsciously that if necessary they could make a living by agriculture, by fishing, or from their herring runs, but they also feel that the fish and the herring and the soil will be there when other sources of living have disappeared. Consequently, they leave these unexploited while they live parasitically off the outer world. The whole is an unwitting *laissez faire* and not a positive program of regeneration.

# National Policies and Rural Social Organization

*Lowry Nelson*

THE TREATMENT of this topic in all of its implications involves a type of talent to which the writer cannot claim possession, for it is impossible at this time, without having prophetic insight, to evaluate the effects of recent policies upon the social profile of the country.<sup>1</sup> The policies have been in effect too short a time to enable us to do more than speculate upon their ultimate significance. Only scattered and piecemeal studies have been made which shed any light upon the subject. Moreover, we are too close in time to the crisis which eventuated in these policies to be able to identify those results which are traceable directly to the policies, as contrasted with those which are attributable to the crisis itself. The policies themselves are associated with depression factors, with the drought, and with many other influences operative over a world-wide scope.

Nevertheless, thoughtful people have for some time been asking themselves questions as to what these policies are doing to the country. It is only fair to state, however, that the demands for immediate action to alleviate distress have compelled officials directly responsible for policies and programs to move with such speed that ultimate consequences of their actions have been relegated to the background of their thinking. Answering the call of distress leaves no time for slow deliberation. In the settling-down process which always follows a crisis,

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was read before the Section on Rural Sociology of the American Sociological Society, New York City, December, 1935.



more careful thought will be given to an appraisal of the values of the policies.

Most of this paper, therefore, must necessarily be conjecture, or at best a logical projection of ideas from the known circumstances. Since other papers on the program are dealing with certain aspects of these policies, this paper will concern itself with possible consequences to rural institutions and to the social processes.

Before moving on to the discussion of the subject proper, it is important to note some of the characteristics of these policies. There is no need to detail here a description of the crisis of 1929 which brought the policies into being, except to say that it was so devastating and shocking in its effect, that it set the stage for drastic public action to offset it. "Emergency" legislation was the order of the day, both in Washington and in the states. The word "emergency" became a shibboleth, and was attached to all requests for appropriations, occupying a central place in New Deal agency nomenclature. Panic psychosis dominated behavior everywhere. All in all, the crisis contributed to the development of policies which are destined to have unusual significance for the rural life of the future. Even though the specific policies in operation at present may be abrogated or modified, effects will linger. In other words, we can never be the same again.

The sudden and deadly impact of the economic crisis in 1929, aggravated by regional weather crises, compelled the Federal Government to follow unfamiliar paths. Traditionally, the function of affording relief to people in economic distress had been reserved to local subdivisions and to private agencies; yet, in 1933, the Federal Government took over the function almost completely. Financial succor was not limited to families and individuals, but was extended to institutions as well, particularly schools and recreation agencies. I am not debating the necessity of such action, but merely attempting to point out that it was a new and unprecedented policy.

Again, the Federal Government undertook to move into a new area of direct social control when it established in 1933 the Agricultural

**Adjustment Administration.** Prior to that time, control of production of agricultural commodities had been left to the capricious operation of the supply and demand formula. In 1933, the Federal Government gave the farmers of this country an instrument which they could make effective in controlling the national farm output. This combine of three million entrepreneurs virtually monopolized the production of certain commodities.

In the field of agricultural credit, no less than in the fields of relief and production-control, the national government has recently moved into a non-traditional position. The policy of federal credit agencies historically has been to lend money according to conventional standards of money-lending. That is, the borrower was expected to give adequate security in the form of recoverable goods, which the credit agency could possess in case of default. In 1933, however, millions of federal dollars were made available for "emergency" production loans, involving feed and seed, whether the borrower could provide "security" therefor or not. And in the case of the loans made to farmers through the State Rural Rehabilitation Corporations and the Resettlement Administration, only poor risks, according to conventional standards, are eligible. That is to say, farmers who have been dispossessed of property to the extent that they are in need of public assistance, or to the extent that no other private or public lending agency will extend them credit, may be given rehabilitation loans.

In the field of public works, we find the central government launched on a program unprecedented both in nature and extent. We find vast sums made available to local political subdivisions on a basis of partial subsidy for almost every conceivable type of construction. One of the most interesting and novel phases of the Public Works program is the enterprise which attempts to construct entirely new communities, both suburban and rural.

This aspect is closely related to the other programs (notably land adjustment, which in itself is one of the most conspicuous programs of the New Deal) and probably will have greater significance than any

other for the rural social organization of the future. It is interesting to contemplate the almost desperate efforts of the Federal Government in the past to dispose of the public domain. Land was given away with reckless abandon. Nothing seemed to matter, except to get the title transferred to private hands. Now we have the spectacle of the government purchasing the land it once gave away.

These policies in the fields of public welfare, public works, farm credit, production-control, and the readjustment of people to the land have found expression through a multiplicity of agencies which contact rural life directly. Among the most important of these agencies are the following: Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Public Works Administration, Emergency Conservation Work, Works Progress Administration, Civil Works Administration, National Youth Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, and the Resettlement Administration. Besides the direct action of these agencies through their own personnel, numerous "old-line" federal and state agencies have geared their activities to the emergency program.

Because of the primary place it occupies in society, our first concern is the family. That these new national policies have helped to ward off disaster in hundreds of thousands of farm homes, there can be no doubt. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration has brought the necessities of life to more than a million farm homes. Three-quarters of a million farmers have been aided through the medium of the Emergency Farm Mortgage Act of 1933, providing for the refinancing of farm mortgages. From 1931 to 1934, over 2,000,000 Emergency Crop and Feed loans were made in stricken areas. In 45 states of the Union, 2,750 Farm Debt Adjustment Committees have been able to adjust the indebtedness of numerous farmers and avert foreclosure.<sup>2</sup>

The Rural Rehabilitation program has brought constructive assistance to upwards of 500,000 families. Since these families were technically

<sup>2</sup> The number of farmers assisted by this service is estimated at between 50,000 and 100,000; exact figures are not yet available.

taken "off relief," they have experienced pronounced restoration in morale.

In addition to the relief afforded by these services, public policies also have had a direct and positive influence upon the farm income. From a total gross farm income of \$5,337,000,000 in 1932, when the depression was at its worst, the figure has risen to an estimated sum of \$7,800,000,000 in 1935. In purchasing power, this figure represents about eighty per cent of the purchasing power of the twelve billion dollar income of 1929. Production-control activities have been largely responsible for this increased income. Since there were 3,000,000 farmers who signed contracts, and since some benefit inevitably accrues to the industry as a whole, the advantages of the policy are widely diffused.

Evidence from specific areas as to the direct effect upon farm families is very scarce, but a recent study by Hamilton in North Carolina is much to the point. He found that between 1932 and 1934, "the average net cash income of owners increased from \$291 to \$594 or 104 per cent; renters, from \$209 to \$391 or 87 per cent; and croppers, from \$134 to \$293 or 119 per cent. The net cash income of all relief families studied increased from \$115 per farmer in 1932 to \$201 in 1935; the corresponding figures for non-relief farmers being \$235 in 1932 and \$468 in 1934."<sup>3</sup>

These programs, by restoring at least a degree of economic security, undoubtedly had a very great effect upon the morale of the families that were benefited.

The effects of recent public policies upon the standard of living of the farm family are not known. The depression very definitely reduced the income and compelled curtailment of expenditures normally made for consumption goods. In two Wisconsin counties, it was found that

<sup>3</sup> C. Horace Hamilton, "The Relation of the Agricultural Adjustment Program to Rural Relief Needs in North Carolina," *Preliminary Report*, North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, Raleigh, 1935.

this decline in outlay amounted to 28 per cent in one county and 14 per cent in the other between 1930 and 1933.<sup>4</sup>

The deleterious effects of this decline in income have been partially offset by the retreat of the family from the commercial economy to a self-sufficing one. This tendency was aided by the educational live-at-home campaign of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and the Extension Service of the State Colleges of Agriculture, and by the garden program of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. As part of this policy also, there has been a great stimulation of the practice of home preservation and processing of foods. The ultimate influence of these policies on the functions of the rural household (functions which have been steadily atrophying in the past) is an unanswerable question at this time. The most that can be said is that temporarily those functions have been strengthened; the trend has been thrown off its normal course, but the long-time effect is unpredictable because it rests upon so many variables.

The medical program of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, which provided emergency aid in homes of relief families, has meant more complete health service than those families have ever had before. The services of physician and dentist were supplemented in many states by home nursing service set up as a work-relief project for unemployed nurses. Not only has this program lifted the level of living of these people so far as health service is concerned, but it is certain to influence the social organization of health service in the future. While not all state medical societies coöperated in the program, a large number did and, to my personal knowledge, members of one state group were favorably impressed with the possibilities it suggested for better organization for health service. In other words, this experience may prove to be a significant contribution to any policies of health insurance which may be adopted later.

<sup>4</sup> E. L. Kirkpatrick, Rosalind Tough, and May L. Cowles, "How Farm Families Meet the Emergency," *Research Bulletin No. 126*, Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, Madison, 1933.

There should be mentioned here also the sanitation programs carried on as work-relief projects, such as mosquito control and privy construction; and the "safety" educational work done incident to the entire Public Works program. The Public Health Service cites the following accomplishments of the sanitation projects carried on under its direction:

The results of the work can only be estimated. Drainage commenced after the last malaria transmission season had ended, and the new season has not yet arrived. We cannot at this time even approximate the number of persons living within possible flight range of those areas now drained which heretofore have produced *Anopheles* mosquitoes. However, in view of our knowledge of the general areas covered by the drainage programs, it is conservatively estimated that not less than one-fifth of the population will be removed from the hazard of malaria if the drainage effected should be properly maintained in the future.<sup>5</sup>

Incomplete reports show more than 200,000 privies constructed. It is believed that the complete report will show at least 25,000 more constructed or partially completed by the end of March, 1934. While it will be impossible for some time to measure the results of the work in terms of actual prevention of disease, it is believed that there will be both immediate and remote benefits which will thoroughly justify the undertaking.

As to immediate benefits, in communities where the program proceeded far enough to effect complete elimination of insanitary privies, it is expected that a notable reduction in the prevalence of excreta-borne diseases will occur. As to future benefits, even in communities where the program did not proceed far enough to accomplish a complete or almost complete elimination of insanitary privies, the community has been made "sanitation conscious" and there has been provided a standard of sanitation which will induce further progress on the part of both the public and the local governmental agencies. Modern standards of sanitation have been introduced into hundreds of communities and in several states which heretofore have given little attention to practical sanitary privy construction.<sup>6</sup>

As already indicated, the increased economic security resulting from these policies is widely diffused, but the diffusion is neither uniform nor universal. On the other side of the picture are thousands of dislocated

<sup>5</sup> C. E. Waller, "A Review of the Federal Civil Works Projects of the Public Health Service," *Public Health Reports*, XLIX (August 17, 1934), 3-4.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

farm families dispossessed by the necessary curtailment of production, and by foreclosure, who remain unrescued by any public policy. This is particularly true of large numbers of tenant families and casual laborers who have been cast adrift by the depression and who are making a brave and commendable effort to find a port for anchorage. One needs only to interview these families in their outmoded cars as they cruise the highways radiating from "problem areas" to be impressed with the inadequacy of present policies to solve their problem.

"Believe it or not," a substantial portion of these families are not on relief, not because they are not in need, but because it is against their moral scruples. One ex-tenant from Oklahoma, trying to earn a precarious living in the vegetable fields of Imperial Valley last February, and finding only intermittent work at low wages, made this response to the query, "Have you been on relief?"—"No, we ain't had to take none yet. This relief is all a fake; once ye take it, ye ain't any good any more." And the case is not exceptional. This is perhaps not so much an implied criticism of the limitations of the present policies as it is a condemnation of the nature of the program.

It is pertinent at this point to inquire as to possible effects of these policies upon the family organization and morale. Undoubtedly there was some temporary beneficial effect. The practice of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in giving job assignments for the family to the head of the household, restored the normal breadwinner to his traditional status, a status which he had been forced in many instances to relinquish to the wife or children, and whose deleterious effect upon the household, organization, and operation is apparent.

Moreover, economic crises in the family tend to produce desertion of members, sometimes by a parent and sometimes by one or more of the children. This tendency was undoubtedly either averted or directed constructively by national policies. The Civilian Conservation Corps, for example, provided a refuge for the male youths who are particularly likely to leave home when the family is in economic distress. While they left home, they did so in a fairly normal way. The family knew

where they were. The reaction of boys to the opportunity provided to contribute to family support was by no means uniform, however. It was welcomed by some and protested by others. In this respect, the influence upon family relations would depend upon the attitudes of the participants. In most instances the total result was probably favorable, strengthening rather than weakening the family structure. The same is true of the assistance given college students through the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and of the program of the National Youth Administration. To what extent the application of these policies has contributed to the well-known decline of juvenile delinquency is a matter of conjecture, but it has doubtless had some influence.

The financing policies which made possible the establishment of the family in a new farm enterprise, or which assisted in maintaining the old one, have also helped in saving many families from partial disintegration.

On the other hand, it is probable that the techniques of administering relief in rural areas, in many instances, have not been helpful to the family institution. For most rural families "going on relief" has been a new experience. "Case work" has been developed almost exclusively in urban areas, and these urban techniques were applied to the rural families without serious attention being given to their suitability. Although the number of professional practitioners of the art of social work has been steadily increasing, the sudden call in 1933 for thirty thousand or more workers for the relief program, when there were only approximately eight thousand professional social workers in the country, meant that the all-important function of interviewing distressed families was placed very largely in the hands of novices.

It is an aphorism of social work that the first contact with a distressed family or individual is crucial and may determine the success or failure of the work of readjustment. That much harm to sensitive families would result from the work of amateurs was inevitable. The searching inventory of household goods, of the family background and situation, to which many of these untrained field workers resorted, was bound to



strip some families of their institutional integrity. Moreover, direct relief practices tended to substitute in the minds of children the relief worker for the father and mother as the normal source of living necessities. There are instances in which children themselves made requests upon the home visitor for personal necessities.

These are not results of the policies themselves, but of the practices as they developed in a fast-moving program which was forced to use inadequate personnel. Although generalization is dangerous, it is highly probable that considerable dependency has resulted from the inadequate administration of relief. It is not meant to infer criticism of those in charge of the relief program. Most of us here have helped or advised in it, and there is no doubt that the techniques employed by the federal relief agencies are superior to those of local, county, and township administrations. But the situation is one which may well give us cause for serious thought because of the large scope of operations, involving over a million farm families. If we can move soon into a program which will better safeguard family integrity and prestige, and place greater emphasis upon individual initiative and responsibility, the ultimate damage may be slight.

The temporary departure of government from its historic position in relation to education is worthy of note. Reference is made particularly to the Rural School Continuation program of 1933-35. In 1933-34, a total of 45,609 rural schools were enabled to run through the full term by virtue of federal aid. In 1934-35, the number was 9,983. While this was justified as a relief and unemployment measure, it set a precedent for federal subsidy of local schools which may prove significant.

While figures for the country are not available, it is a well-known fact that the Public Works agencies have greatly increased the physical facilities for education in rural sections. Numerous new schoolhouses have been built and old ones renovated, remodeled, and repaired.

The Emergency Education Program sponsored by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration to assist unemployed teachers probably gave some impetus to the cause of adult education, but its major influ-

ence, one suspects, would be in places other than the open country. Of greater rural importance are the Agricultural Adjustment Administration's discussion groups, and the educational value of the Rural Rehabilitation service. Both of these organizations are associated with the Extension Service.

It seems commonly agreed that, as a result of these new programs, agricultural extension work is undergoing important changes in methods used and in the extent of contacts. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration's discussion groups lay considerable stress on the economic and social significance of agriculture rather than upon technological practices. The Rural Rehabilitation program stresses a kind of case-work technique, and carries its services to a group which by and large has been affected little by extension work in the past. The same result can be cited for the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. A greatly expanded range of rural participation has been provoked by these activities.

Social participation has also been promoted by various policies operative in the field of recreation. Not only have new recreational facilities been created throughout the rural areas by the Civil Works Administration, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and the Works Progress Administration, but "white-collar" work projects have provided leadership to stimulate activity. In so far as these programs were geared to local agencies such as community clubs, 4-H clubs, and other strictly indigenous institutions, there is small question that they have had a rejuvenating effect which in large measure will prove residual. In the meantime, social contacts have been multiplied for thousands of rural families. By virtue of their participation in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration's program, 3,000,000 families have been activated. There were 4,200 production-control associations, with county boards of directors made up of chairmen of local associations, with the usual executive officers, and county allotment committees. It very definitely provided new opportunities for leadership for large numbers who had previously had little or no expression. This reservoir of new

farm leadership is no doubt one of the permanent contributions of the program to rural organization.

It is interesting to note that rural recreational projects have been approved for all states by the Works Progress Administration. Ten states have projects which provide for five hundred farmers' leadership-training centers. All states have projects for the construction of community centers, and ten states have projects for construction of county agricultural extension buildings, all of which will provide lecture auditoriums as well as offices for extension workers.

The state of Texas offers an illustration in greater detail. There are fifty-eight projects for enlarging recreational facilities of schools in the form of athletic fields, stadiums, and playground equipment; eighty municipal projects providing community buildings, tennis courts, golf courses, parks, swimming-pools, bathhouses, and camp sites; nine projects for beautification of school and other community grounds; and nine "white-collar" projects providing supervision for recreational activities. Other state programs are comparable.

While it is one thing to create physical equipment for institutional participation and quite a different thing to bring the equipment into effective use, it is gratifying to know that rural people are securing for themselves desirable media for group expression. The availability of the devices will tend to encourage participation.

While reference has been made only to the possible effects of these policies on the institutions of the family, the school and recreation, their influence has undoubtedly been felt on institutions of trade and communication. Improvement of highways from farm to market has been an outstanding feature of the Public Works program. It has greatly increased the facility of contacts between town and country and between families in the open country and their local institutions. Financial support for the churches, which suffered greatly by the economic depression, has no doubt been strengthened indirectly through the spending activities of the Federal Government.

While no valid evidence exists as to modifications of social processes themselves, some tentative observations can be made. The stimulation to coöperation among rural people exerted by the various New Deal agencies is frequently cited. Specifically, some commentators refer to the operations of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. It can be stated as fact that the crop-adjustment machine has acted as a centrifuge in drawing into action three million families, many of whom, it is safe to say, had not previously participated directly in coöperative action. Recognizing this fact, it is fair to ask whether the basis of coöperative action is such as to insure continuity of the participation. The mechanism is so effective in yielding direct and immediate pecuniary results to the contract-signer, that it is difficult for the participants to sense the social significance of their acts. Mutual aid implies a certain amount of self-sacrifice; all coöperative organization must rest finally, as all students know, upon a social rather than upon a purely economic basis.

Several observers have indicated their fear that the federal assumption of so much local responsibility has "dried up the sources of local initiative and responsibility for solving local problems."<sup>7</sup> The point is frequently raised that while these agencies have greatly stimulated local activity, the fact that the activity is sponsored by "Washington" would suggest that it may cease when the stimulus is removed. The coöperative relationship, in other words, is looked upon as too much of a military pattern, organized from the "top" down, as contrasted with the spontaneous and autonomous type, organized from the "bottom" up. The latter type is far more likely to be permanent.

One hears administrators in Washington argue the question, for example, whether local committees working on these various programs should be paid their expenses. Agricultural Adjustment Administration committees are paid, farm debt adjustment committees are paid, some rural rehabilitation committees are paid, and Federal Emergency Relief Administration project leaders are paid. Some people are asking what

<sup>7</sup> Personal letter from E. L. Morgan.

will happen when communities call on men and women to serve on committees and spend time at their own expense as they have always done in the past, because there was no expense fund available to reimburse them. Have these agencies set precedents which, in the future, cannot be followed? And will these precedents result in a partial paralysis of local effort and enthusiasm?

One is reminded of the misgivings concerning the future of the Irish farmer expressed by George (AE) Russell in 1912. He feared, above almost everything else, that they would come to have "worship of the state and belief in its powers, developed to such an extent that the community will place itself completely in the hands of the government to the utter destruction of self-reliance, initiative, and independence of spirit. When a man becomes imbecile, his friends place him in an asylum. When a people grow decadent and imbecile, they place themselves in the hands of the state."<sup>8</sup>

The antithesis of coöperation in the social process is conflict. The New Deal agencies have created some interesting new bases for group antagonism. The word "parity," no less among industrial classes than among nations, has important social implications. By its emphasis upon that word, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration has greatly sharpened the rural-urban cleavage. Urban consumers are comparing their lot with that of the agricultural classes. Resentment against "plowing under" cotton—not to mention killing the little pigs—runs high. We have the spectacle of the minister in a conservative industrial city, who would have regarded as sacrilegious the mention in his church of the inequities of the protective tariff, denouncing vehemently the policy which made it possible for farmers to achieve for themselves the economic equivalent of the tariff. While the attacks are directed at officials in Washington, they are the voices of class against class.

While the conflict between "tax-spenders" and "tax-payers" is very old it has acquired a new significance through the various unemployment relief measures. "Why," asks a typical taxpayer (which means a

<sup>8</sup> George Russell, *Coöperation and Nationality* (Dublin, 1912), p. 26.

real property owner), "should John Doe be getting relief, when he never did have anything anyway, and I have always tried to pay my way? I can't pay my taxes now and yet I can't get any help, and in the end I'll have to pay the bill for keeping him." The fact that there is fallacious thinking on the whole matter is not germane. The attitudes are real, regardless of the reasoning from which they are derived. An important farm paper in the Middle West remarks, "Many of these (Resettlement Administration) farmers will be better off than others who have struggled successfully to remain self-supporting. This is penalizing success."

One senses in some local communities a great deal of discord and vertical mobility as a result of the relief program. One man volunteered the opinion that "nothing in the community experience had created so much bad feeling among neighbors as this relief." Some, he said, were bitter because they couldn't get Civil Works Administration work; others were "sore" because they were not getting as much work or relief as their neighbors. And the local relief visitors were not as discreet about their handling of confidential information concerning neighbors as they might have been. Gossip went the rounds.

"Going on relief" in a rural area also meant loss of status for many families, although it was the policy of the relief administrators to try to prevent it. The "chiseler," on the other hand, is an unhappy phenomenon of relief, just as the "slacker" was of the war days, and some communities have come to regard any relief client as a potential "chiseler."

The point I am attempting to bring out is that something new has happened in the process of social stratification in the rural community. One achieved a different status as one became the beneficiary of any of the numerous services offered. People became identified with terms such as "relief" or "non-relief"; as a "signer" (of a contract) or a "non-signer"; as a "transient"; as a "worker," or one who "refused to work"; as "skilled" or "unskilled"; as "eligible" or "ineligible"; as "employed" or "unemployed."

This attitude of taxpayers, as opposed to relief clients, may express itself in some very unexpected ways. One wonders, for example, if legislation for birth control and sterilization may not have better chances of success in future legislative bodies.

Someone has suggested the possibility of competition developing among farm organizations as a result of the rise of new leadership in Agricultural Adjustment Administration activities. It is intimated that "old-line" organizations are "viewing with alarm" the acquisition of prestige by this new group. The effect upon certain "left-wing" organizations has been anything but encouraging to them.

The relationship between local private organizations for welfare and the vast government agencies has also been given a new setting. The struggle is bound to become more intense as the crisis attenuates. It revolves in part around the ancient conflict between local and centralized control, and in part around the question of responsibility for welfare work. With the enactment of the Social Security Act, the question of responsibility would seem to be rather definitely placed on public officials. However, there are large vested interests in private welfare activities, and they are faced with the problem of determining a new place in the scheme of things. I do not imply that they haven't a place in the new order; but that a clear definition of this place is necessary.

The stage is set for renewed political strife between the adherents, respectively, of local versus centralized control. This may be a factor in the predicted new political alignments in the country, in which rural people as the reputed "individualists" of the country will play an important rôle.

In the final analysis, it is probably true that the most profound result of these policies will be their effect upon the ideologies of rural people. We must agree that the countryside has been activated by government agencies in a manner and to an extent beyond any previous experience. The dramatic setting in which these agencies had their rise was bound to produce lasting impressions. We have a whole lexicon of new

stereotypes, such as "social planning," "adjustment," "world markets," "conservation," "natural resources," "problem areas," "recovery," "security," "authority," "administration," "resettlement," "rehabilitation," "live-at-home," "human needs," etc. Implicit in most of these stereotypes is the operation of governmental authority.

That the central government has assumed a new importance in the minds of people goes without saying. Local provincialism has been greatly modified, and greater emphasis placed upon the broader class interests, and how they might achieve effective expression. Commercial agriculture versus self-sufficiency has become an important issue. There is speculation about the type of land tenure which is best. In the past, land ownership has been assumed as the best form of tenure, but the steady rise in tenancy and the plight of the mortgaged owner have cast serious doubts upon the validity of our traditional assumption.

Rural people, along with urban, find themselves confused by the collapse of traditional forms and the conflicting ideologies struggling for dominance. Which of these ideologies will prevail, and the kinds of social controls which will result, we must leave to our children to describe.



# County Organization for Program Planning in Virginia

*B. L. Hummel*

**D**URING my five years as extension specialist in rural organization in the state of Missouri, I was impressed with the necessity of having some active, permanent, effective administrative organization to follow through any significant program of rural organization in the state. Upon coming to Virginia in the fall of 1928, I decided very definitely to clear my organization program with the district and county farm and home agents as the administrative representatives of the agricultural extension service. We therefore made the development of county extension organization a primary part of our state-wide program.

In a great many counties throughout the state, agricultural advisory boards had been developed to help in planning what was then called a long-time agricultural program, to hear the annual report of the county agent, and to advise concerning each annual plan of work. These boards were made up of county-wide commodity committees. While the membership of the various committees was drawn from all parts of the county, none of the committees had direct contact with any particular local community organization. The county board, therefore, was made up of five or six different commodity committees, each planning in terms of a particular commodity, but none clearing with local groups or farmers. They constituted somewhat of a county "brain trust" since the local men knew very little about what the county committees did.

In 1930, after getting some other organizational work under way in the state, it was decided to reorganize some of the county advisory

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boards on a community basis, rather than the county-wide commodity committee basis upon which they originally had been organized.

A conference was held with county agents to discuss the advisability of this procedure. Where the agents thought it advisable to proceed with the reorganization of the county board on a community basis, they discussed the matter with the officers of the existing boards. Wherever these men agreed to give the matter further consideration, the existing board members were called together and the advantages of organizing on a community basis were explained to them. If the members felt that such procedure was desirable, a large map of the county was placed before the group and, on the basis of information given by the participants, the county was mapped to show the larger community areas within its boundaries. It was agreed that in place of the county commodity committees, which constituted the old county board, general community agricultural committees of from three to seven members should be selected in each of the larger communities of the county. The committee members in each community were to be successful farm men in whom the neighbors placed a high degree of confidence. In addition to the major commodities, they were to represent all areas in the community. These general community agricultural committees collectively were to constitute the new county agricultural advisory board. The chairmen of the community committees were to form the executive committee of the county advisory board.

Early in 1931 the work was started on this basis in twelve counties. It was extended to nine other counties during the latter part of that year, and to ten more during 1932, making a total of thirty-one counties. The work started off nicely in all these counties and a decided strengthening of the county program was effected, very largely through the local organization developed by the community agricultural committees. The agents for the first time had responsible groups of specially selected men in each community to whom they could go and with whom they could plan, select demonstrators, arrange meetings, and check results.

The counties organized in this way began to stand out noticeably in the results obtained in their extension work.

The Agricultural Adjustment Administration's program began during 1933. With its superimposed type or organizational set-up, it confused the local situation. An extremely heavy load of special work was thrown on the county agents. The reorganized advisory boards, which were only getting started on their new basis of work, suffered somewhat. During the life of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, little progress was made in perfecting the work of the boards. Eighteen of those having only one year of experience became practically dormant. About twenty-one out of the thirty-one organized boards continued to function effectively. In some cases these reorganized boards with their community committees assumed chief responsibility for all educational work incident to the Agricultural Adjustment Administration's program. Specialists in various subject-matter lines continued to find the community committees a decided advantage in conducting their programs, and the counties having such committees continued to be outstanding in their extension accomplishments.

When the Adjustment Program was declared unconstitutional, and the time had arrived for county agricultural planning to be set up on a permanent basis, the need was recognized for groups of farmers in all communities to get together and make a study of national issues and local agricultural problems. Then the state turned again to the community committee idea and the Director of Extension, Mr. J. R. Hutcheson, asked me, as extension specialist in rural organization, to act as project leader for the state-wide projects in group discussion and program planning. He wrote to all county agricultural agents in the state requesting them to reorganize their county agricultural advisory boards on a community committee basis, if they had not already done so. It was felt that the value of the general community agricultural committees in meeting local problems and dealing with public issues had been sufficiently demonstrated to justify this state-wide action.

As a result of this administrative request, every county agricultural advisory board in the state (96 counties out of the total of 100) was reorganized on a community basis. The 96 counties were divided into 651 communities, and 2,407 individuals were selected to represent them. During February and March, 3,906 meetings, or an average of six per community, were held, with a total of 117,180 men attending the discussions. The county agents reported that they had never seen their men respond to a program with more interest than was shown in this series of meetings.

At the end of the discussion series, the chairmen of the community committees were brought together as a county-planning group. They furnished the estimates requested by the Department of Agriculture relative to the production of agricultural commodities (1) assuming no production or marketing program in effect, and (2) assuming a soil conservation program in effect. County agricultural data showing production trends of the more important commodities for the last 55 years had been supplied to and studied by the local groups in order that they might be thoroughly familiar with the trend of production in their respective counties during the past several years.

It seems from results already achieved that it is advisable to combine the county boards with the local committees, and to develop county advisory boards and planning committees on a general community, rather than a commodity committee basis. As we go into the new 1936 soil conservation program, some necessary adjustments will be made in the community groupings, and some changes will be made in the personnel of the committees. Nevertheless, we have the type of organization already functioning which will be required in putting this new program into effect, and we can easily make the necessary adjustments in our working organization. Rural social organization is still a confusion of problems in the state as a whole, but with this progress in agricultural extension organization and county planning, and with a great many instances where more comprehensive community programs have been developed, we feel that we have a basis for further progress.

## Current Bulletins

"Factors Promoting Positive Health in School Children," by Alemeda Perry Brown. Utah Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 257*. Logan, 1935. Pp. 48.

Why some children in a group are healthier than others is the question which this study purports to answer. Fifty-two rural Utah children, 9-14 years of age, were divided into two groups, a "more healthy" and a "less healthy," on the basis of physical and dental examinations. The two groups were compared with respect to their dietary history, present diet, physical development, activities, family-health trends, and environmental factors. The difficulties of obtaining reliable historic data and of making correlations were quite apparent to the author, who claimed only exploratory merit for her study. No dramatic differences in health history or nutrition were discovered, although a number of differences which were noticed and listed might in the aggregate be the basis for the better health rating of one group. An analysis of, or a comparison between, individual children differing in specific respects might have been used to check the conclusions regarding the influence of each factor.

JOHN B. HOLT

"Rural Government in New York," by M. P. Catherwood. Cornell University Agricultural Extension Division, *Bulletin No. 331*. Ithaca, 1935. Pp. 37.

This is a descriptive manual of rural government in New York State. It reviews the historical development of village, town, and county governments; their structural and functional organization; their interrelationships; their rural-school, highway, and relief administrations; their property assessment and tax collection; and the opportunities for changes, as well as the changes already proposed.

The author's viewpoint is that the problem of improvement in local government in New York in the near future hinges largely upon the development of a system which will retain local control, but which, at the same time, will provide for the highest degree of efficiency. The reader is inclined to wish that the author had related the proposed changes in government more definitely to those factors mentioned by the author as necessitating these changes—such as factory production, large cities, rapid transportation, and changing social conditions.

JOHN B. HOLT

"Attitudes of High School Seniors Toward Farming and Other Vocations," by Mary E. Frayser. South Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 302*. Clemson College, 1935. Pp. 32.

"Uncontrolled" statements characterizing farm life, and "yes and no" answers to the question whether or not the student desired to live on a farm, were methods used to check each other in determining the attitudes of 924 white and 566 Negro high school seniors toward farming and other vocations. The uncontrolled-opinion statements were rated by two judges independently as to their indication of a very favorable, favorable, neutral, unfavorable, and very unfavorable attitude. A third judge decided in cases of disagreement. A comparison of results from both types of appraisal showed comparable conclusions. Data were analysed according to race and sex of the students, and according to occupation of the children's parents. Choice of vocation was analysed according to those who anticipated a college education and those who did not, as well as according to sex.

Among the facts indicated by the analysis were the following: Fewer seniors were "favorable" toward farm life than had parents engaged in farming. Children of farm owners were more favorable toward farming than children of non-owners. Agriculture ranked third choice as a vocation among white boys who expected to go to college and ninth among Negro boys expecting a college education. Agriculture ranked first among those who did not expect a college education. Obviously "expectation" was confused by many students with "desire."

Lack of economic attraction, modern conveniences and social amenities ranked highest as reasons surmised by the students to be the cause of migration from farms. This opinion corresponds to the suggestions made by the students relative to ways in which farm life might be improved.

JOHN B. HOLT

"A Social Study of the Blacksburg Community," by William Edward Garnett. Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 299*. Blacksburg, 1935. Pp. 105.

In carrying out his purpose to make an impartial analysis of the forces molding community life, and of prevailing conditions and trends in their many interrelationships, the author recognized that Blacksburg is not a true community, but a potential community made up of the town and the twenty-four partially integrated neighborhood groups lying within a radius of one and one-quarter miles. "Common larger area consciousness" and loyalties are characterized as poorly developed.

The author expressed particular interest in those forces which tend to strengthen or weaken the "consciousness of kind" within the larger community,

but the theme is not persistently pursued throughout the report. It tends rather to develop into a summary of the population, economic, health, educational, recreational, institutional, and governmental conditions, with accompanying suggestions for community action toward their improvement. That which results is, therefore, a sociological case study, the conclusions of which are not interpreted according to their significance for sociological theory, but rather in reference to possibilities for the improvement of social life in the community. An added interest would have been given to the study had more attention been devoted to recent trends in the fundamental social factors and their significance. The picture as presented is rather static.

The study was based upon schedules obtained from over three-quarters of the total number of families. The schedules were supplemented by interviews and public reports. The impression is given, however, that the information derived from the latter sources received the most attention.

JOHN B. HOLT

"Changes in the Retail and Service Facilities of Rural Trade Centers in Michigan, 1900 and 1930," by C. R. Hoffer. Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station, *Special Bulletin No. 261*. East Lansing, 1935. Pp. 24.

Changes in the rural trade centers of less than 10,000 population in Michigan from 1900 to 1930 are examined on the basis of data from the United States Census Reports and from commercial directories. A general decline in rural trade centers is denied. The loss of population in centers of from 1 to 500 persons is positively correlated with losses in population in the surrounding agricultural areas. The decrease in the number of stores per trade center, a trend reversed when the depression caused a rapid increase in small enterprises, is not interpreted. The gradual disappearance of the rural general store and the increase in specialized merchandising, not only within trade centers but among them, are attributed to the increased demand of rural people for specialized and varied services and to the improvement of transportation facilities. The introduction and place of the chain stores in trade centers of various sizes are not related to their status in the 1929 and 1933 distribution and sales. An estimate of the population per trade center required to support miscellaneous business services, banks, newspapers, and professional services is made on the basis of the actual distribution of these services.

JOHN B. HOLT

"Education and Rehabilitation in Alabama Farm Households Receiving Relief," by Harold Hoffsommer. *Bulletin of Alabama Polytechnic Institute*, XXX:7. Auburn, 1935. Pp. 20.

This study, made in coöperation with the Division of Research, Statistics and Finance of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, establishes the defi-

nately inferior educational status of Alabama's farm relief clients to the Alabama and national averages of all persons in every respect, in the attainment of adults, the proportion of minors out of school, and the attainment of minors in school Negro educational status is shown to be inferior in quality as well as in quantity, as indicated by the lower expenditures on education per pupil. Assuming that the below-average and inadequate educational attainment is indicative of a low cultural level, the author interprets his findings in terms of rehabilitation to mean that financial support is not a prerequisite for rehabilitation as much as increased education, in so far as education means training in awareness of, the desire to improve, and the ability to adjust to changing economic conditions. A total of 1,022 farm relief households, or 5,080 persons scattered through ten Alabama counties, was covered by the study.

JOHN B. HOLT

"The Problem of the Church in South Dakota," by F. W. Kumlien. South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 294*. Brookings, 1935. Pp. 46.

This study analyzes the extent to which the churches of South Dakota perform the function of developing social integration and idealism in their communities.

Conclusions reached are that the present over-churching, inefficient and un-economic church distribution, denominational "in-grouping," segregation along national-denominational religious lines, and a prevalent program of individual rather than social salvation hinder the fulfillment of social functions by the South Dakota churches.

Replies to a questionnaire sent to all the ministers in the state were obtained from a representative twenty-five per cent of the list. These data were supplemented by the federal religious census taken in 1890, 1906, 1916, and 1926, by the denominational *Yearbooks*, and by a special study of church decline and mortality in eight counties. A classification of the churches was made by open-country, hamlet, village, town, and city groups.

The correlation of recent church trends with related factors in the life of the state was hindered by the lack of a previous questionnaire survey and recent religious census data.

JOHN B. HOLT

*Die vorstaedtische Kleinsiedlung in der Mark Brandenburg und in der Grenz-Mark.* By Gertrud Laupheimer and Marie Hoegel-Wertenson. Berlin: P. Parey, 1935. Pp. 98.

This publication is the last report of the Institute for Agriculture and Land Settlement which for twelve years carried on research and published many reports



of investigations conducted in the eight separate divisions located in eight universities. The report presents the results of an intensive study of the suburban settlement units in Brandenburg and the Grenzmark Province. A historical treatment of the suburban settlement and general settlement methods is given. From the study, and other calculations, the size of unit and the amount of capital necessary for "full" or partial support is calculated. For instance, it is reckoned that in order to supply a family of settlers, having two or three children, with the required fruit, vegetables, legumes and potatoes, and space for a home, about 1,000, 1,200 and from 1,500 to 1,600 square meters of good, medium, or poor land, respectively, is necessary. (One-fourth acre is roughly 1,000 square meters). Since most of the suburban units established in Germany by the resettlement organization are about 1,000 square meters, 70 to 80 per cent of the livelihood of the settler must be sought elsewhere. The prospects for support on the land have been painted much too brightly to would-be settlers. However, even though the suburban settler can seldom approach self-sufficiency, he and his family do live under healthy conditions, and the study indicates that the diet becomes better when supplemented from the garden. Furthermore, laborers having property of their own are unlikely to join proletarian social revolutions.

The methods used in the statistical analysis are not discussed in detail. The schedule-interview method was used and other studies were drawn upon for data indicating requirements of land and food.

CHARLES P. LOOMIS

*Upper Freehold Township: A Survey of the Life, Resources and Government of a New Jersey Rural Township, with a Program for Improvement.* By Theodore B. Manny, *et al.* Cooperating Agencies: The Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. D. A.; The New Jersey Department of Agriculture; The Monmouth County Agricultural Extension Service; and The Upper Freehold Better Township Association. Trenton, 1935. Pp. 85.

The uniqueness of the study lies in the fact that it was initiated by a local organization. It is a case study of a rural township with special emphasis on local government. Data were secured by interviews with 106 farmers out of the 227 in the township; other data were taken from public and private records. The study had two phases: namely, an analysis of the county government; and a discussion of the needs and desires of the people which this government serves. It is an excellent example of coöperation among local, state, and national agencies for fact finding in order to give intelligent guidance to a proposed program of action.

CHARLES P. LOOMIS

"Part-Time Farming in Washington," by Ben H. Pubols. Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 316*. Corvallis, 1935. Pp. 47.

"Part-Time Farming in Connecticut," by L. A. Salter, Jr., and H. D. Darling. Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 204*. Storrs, 1935. Pp. 79.

"Part-Time Farming in Four Representative Areas of Kentucky," by Merton Oyler and W. W. Rose. Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 358*. Lexington, 1935. Pp. 30.

These studies were conducted by the respective Stations in coöperation with various emergency agencies, and were designed to reveal facts upon which to base programs of action.

The Washington study is a farm management analysis strictly. This is largely true also of the Kentucky study, although it gives minor attention to social factors. The Connecticut study gives much greater emphasis to the social milieu in which part-time farm families live.

There is obvious lack of uniformity in definitions of a part-time farm, none of which coincide with the Census definition. In fact, only the Washington bulletin specifically defines what is meant by a part-time farm; the others do so only by implication.

If the density of rural population on a self-sustaining basis is desirable and possible, part-time farming offers a way to achieve this end. There is great need for much more information from all areas of the country before these questions can be fully answered.

LOWRY NELSON

"The Population of a Selected 'Cut-Over' Area in Louisiana," by T. Lynn Smith and Martha Ray Fry. Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 268*. Baton Rouge, 1936. Pp. 46.

This is a survey of the quantity, quality, and present situation of the population in a selected land-retirement area in the state of Louisiana, an area in which the lumbering industry is now in process of discontinuing operations because of the exhaustion of timber resources. Each of the 862 households in the area was interviewed. The junior author spent three months in the area. A dearth of young adults, a very perceptible population growth, a high degree of residential stability, limited educational training, and dependence upon a vanishing industry; all of these in combination suggest the problems which must be met if persons from this area are to be resettled.

CONRAD TAEUBER

"The Growth of Population in Louisiana, 1890-1930," by T. Lynn Smith. Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 264*. Baton Rouge, 1935. Pp. 53.

This is an analysis of Census data from 1890 to 1930, showing the growth of population in the state by parishes and wards; differential rates of growth; the racial and nativity groups in urban and rural areas, and in the type-of-farming areas of the state. The bulletin is the first of a series on population in Louisiana. Maps, charts and tables assist in presenting the data.

CONRAD TAEUBER

"A Study of Selected Factors in Family Life as Described in Autobiographies," by Mildred B. Thurow. Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, *Memoir 171*. Ithaca, 1935. Pp. 52.

One of the aims of the study was to explore the possibility of using life-history material for objective description of family relationships.

Another objective was to investigate correlation among certain familial relationships which are found in autobiographies of 200 college students. The definite categories which were general to the 200 autobiographies were determined and defined. The autobiographies were rated as to whether the category or trait (for example, tension between parents) was manifested in three degrees: namely, "much," "medium," and "little." A category, "not indicated," included autobiographies which did not treat the characteristics for which ratings were collected. The validity of this rating scheme was tested. The method of ascertaining degrees of association by obtaining coefficients of contingency was used throughout the study. By this method the typical characteristics of successful families were described and many important relationships ascertained and measured.

CHARLES P. LOOMIS

*Land Settlement in Germany*. By Christopher Turnor. London: P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 1935. Pp. 30.

*The Modern Settlement Movement in Germany*; I. "Rural," II. "Suburban." By Charles P. Loomis. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1935. Pp. 68.

The only two publications in the English language dealing solely with the German land-settlement program are those written by Turnor and Loomis. The German land-settlement program may be considered as a model in organization and technique. The two publications of Turnor and Loomis treat all phases of settlement, including the economic, social, and biological aspects. Turnor contrasts the German settlement with that of the English. From a sociological point

of view the German organization selects its settlers better than does the English. The housing facilities on a standard full-family unit (20-75 acres) are equal to those of a 100-150 acre holding in England. The failure of settlement is reduced to a minimum in Germany and most settlements may be called "scientific group settlements." In the last ten years there were about 50,000 new farms and about 100,000 new "subsistence homesteads" established. Turnor doubts the plausibility of resettling urban workers and supports his contention by German experience.

Loomis presents the historical background of both the rural and urban settlement movement. In addition to the rural units there were, according to him, 65,470 suburban settlement holdings of about one-fourth acre in size established by March, 1934. By way of sociological interpretation, he discusses the population problems related to the settlement movement. The family-sized farm is shown to be the basis of an agricultural system which may support a greater population and lead to the general production of more agricultural products for the market. Since Germany must import food, and since leaders wish to increase the population, settlement is favored by the government. There is a discussion of the relative advantages and disadvantages of the closed-village and isolated-farm settlement. A section is given to a discussion of the social life in the rural settlements.

CHARLES P. LOOMIS

*Regional Reconstruction: A Way Out for the South.* By Rupert Bayles Vance. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935. Pp. 31.

In clear, straightforward terms the dilemma of the South is portrayed. The Southerner still lives in the heritage of the commercial colonial plantation system. Containing less than 3 per cent of the world's land area, the South grows from 55 to 60 per cent of the world's annual supply of cotton. However, clothing the world has given the tenants of the South no claim to material laurels of accomplishment. The prevailing cultural pattern of the cotton and tobacco cultures are described. Fluctuations in cotton prices and fertility of soil have been so great that there has been a range of from \$25 to \$200 for a 500-pound bale of cotton, or \$10 to \$60 per acre, causing intermittent splurging and deprivation.

The tenant system, which has always been associated with high geographic mobility, poor food, inadequate housing, and other low living standards, has not been eliminated by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. The government assumed the risks of land owners and has thrown them upon the tenant. A land owner could displace tenants, secure money at 4.5 to 6.5 per cent, and charge his tenant 20 to 30 per cent for provisions. The only recourse of displaced tenants was *relief*.

A "peasant proprietorship" for the South which might (with the coming of electrical and mechanical power) be an integration of *fields, factories and workshops*, is probably the goal toward which the rural South, which no longer can export one-half of its cotton and one-fourth of its tobacco, should strive.

CHARLES P. LOOMIS

"Migration of Farm Population and Flow of Farm Wealth," by Fred R. Yoder and A. A. Smith. Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 315*. Pullman, 1935. Pp. 24.

A total of 241 farms in four townships of Whitman County, Washington, were surveyed to determine the relation of transfers of wealth to transfers of population. Except for net worth of farm operators on arrival at present farms, only transfers of wealth out of the county were considered. Sixty-eight per cent of the aggregate payments from present owners of the land to 246 former landholders went to residents of cities. Eighty per cent of the heirs to property in the area lived in cities and received 82 per cent of the farm property which passed through inheritance. No generalizations to other areas were attempted.

CONRAD TAEUBER

# Book Reviews

*A Study of Rural Society.* By J. H. Kolb and Edmund de S. Brunner. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935. Pp. xiv, 642.

This book represents a study of rural social organization and structure, characteristics of rural people, agriculture as an occupation, functional and institutional organization, and trends in and policies for rural society. It is profusely supplied with statistical materials and illustrations. The authors have endeavored to make a comprehensive survey of the latest researches, of which their own investigations not hitherto available in textbook form constitute a substantial portion.

The family, in the conception of Kolb and Brunner, forms the basis of rural social organization. Beyond the family, the neighborhood is the first group of sociological significance. The rural community transcends the neighborhood so as to include areas of direct reciprocal socio-economic relationships between farmers and non-farmers. In other words, it is a town-country community. Sociologically, the agricultural village is considered as being midway between the agricultural neighborhood and the city, although it is recognized by the writers that historically in Old World countries the village does not necessarily bear any resemblance to the city except the one characteristic of nucleated residence. What this amounts to is that villages are intermediate concentration points between the agricultural neighborhood and the city when they are, and they are not when they are not. Part of this ambiguity inheres in the fact that the vocabulary of rural sociology is yet inadequate, and it is only by a clumsy roundabout description that the rural sociologist can make it clear whether the term "village" refers to a settlement of farmers in the Old World historical sense or a fetal city in the current American usage. But even if the vagaries of terminology were obliterated, the scientific validity of this assumption is open to debate, because there are important direct relations between the farmer and the city that have no reference to the country trade center. Nor does the evolution of cities necessarily proceed in a step by step series from family to neighborhood, village, and finally to a city. The writers think of the city as standing "out at the end of the road," the other end being the country, or presumably the farm family, between which two points there is a continuous interplay of traffic and communication. The importance of the city is not to be denied. However, the inference of a rural-urban polarization of human society is tenable only within certain limits, which are not clearly defined in the present volume. Even now the "rurbanization" of society must be thought of quite largely in the sense of secondary group relationships.

In addition to the forms of social differentiation and integration already mentioned there are many kinds of special interest and functional groupings in rural society. Professor Kolb has enjoyed preëminent distinction in this field for so long that comments on his contributions are unnecessary.

The discussion on the origins of the rural population of this country is highly suggestive of a line of research which would be fruitful as the basis of an explanation of regional variations in types of rural social organization. However, the treatment on this point is inadequate.

In Part III, the authors direct their attention to an economic survey of agriculture. Important as are the facts given in this section, their sociological implications are left mostly to the discretion of the reader. In the mind of the reviewer, rural sociology too long has been a kind of oasis into which economists and technical agriculturists have crept when they have felt an inspiration to do a little broadcasting on the ameliorative properties of their own specialties. Likewise, rural sociologists have succumbed all too frequently to the temptation to crawl over into economics, agricultural engineering, or some field other than their own and graze where the pastures looked more inviting than at home. However, as the title of their book would indicate, the authors can do this with impunity.

The fourth section of the book deals with standards of living, rural education, the school curriculum as a social force, adult education, religion and the rural church, rural merchandising and industry, recreational agencies, health, and social welfare agencies. These topics are studied principally as conditions and trends. However, the authors indicate clearly in most cases the sociological import of the changes which have occurred.

The last section of the book is devoted to a discussion of some of the implications of a national policy for agriculture, and the social effects of specialization in agriculture. However, the present chaotic condition of our agricultural policy, owing partly to the action of the Supreme Court since the book was written, makes it very difficult to give an objective appraisal of this part of the study. Suffice it to say, that the authors have called attention to the urgent need of intelligent guidance should a permanent national policy for agriculture become a reality.

Viewed as a whole, the work has many admirable features. It is objective and factual in the main. It is rather substantial and, at the same time, is written in understandable language. Most of the usual topics found in a textbook on rural sociology receive adequate treatment. The exact place the book should fill as a pedagogical device will depend in large measure upon the viewpoint of the instructor. If a rural sociologist considers himself as first, last, and at all times a sociologist, who is studying the sociology of rural life, he will find it necessary to supply most of the sociological inferences for

Parts III and V, which are devoted primarily to factual trends. While it may be conceded that in major part rural sociology is an American college discipline, this does not justify the rather provincial approach which characterizes not only this but also all other "Rural Sociologies" in this country with only one exception. A science knows no political boundaries. Not only are Old World antecedents of great significance to rural life in America, but also are current social and economic trends in other lands, particularly in the western portion of the eastern hemisphere.

The critic cannot say "the book is the best that has yet appeared in the field of rural sociology." It has certain features that other books lack and lacks features which some of them have. In so far as it is strictly comparable to other books, both as to materials and treatment, it is excelled by none. The book has a place which is more or less its own, and in any case it is a welcome addition to the literature of rural sociology.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College      OTIS DURANT DUNCAN

*Studies of Family Living in the United States and Other Countries: An Analysis of Material and Methods.* By Faith M. Williams and Carle C. Zimmerman. Washington, D. C.: U. S. D. A. Miscellaneous Publication No. 223, 1935. Pp. 617. \$.60.

This volume is published under the auspices of the Bureau of Home Economics, the Social Science Research Council, and the Institute of Pacific Relations, and represents the joint effort of Faith M. Williams and Carle C. Zimmerman to survey all of the existing studies on the consumption of individual families and their living, both as individual families and as parts of various social structures. Aside from preface and introduction, the book divides itself into five main parts: history of studies, methods used, annotated bibliography, keys to material and method, and index of authors.

The first part deals with the history of studies of family living. It consists of a brief note by Faith M. Williams on researches in the United States and Canada and a more extensive historical account by Carle C. Zimmerman, covering some fifty countries, and tracing the development of statistical method and techniques in their application to investigation of family living, as well as indicating the type and kind of consumption and living data collected. In the second part again we find a similar division of labor by the authors; here Zimmerman gives a terse and clear statement of the Le Play School's approach to the study of the family living, and Williams presents a more elaborate sketch of what she chooses to call "Statistical Schools." This latter is a rather unsystematic description of a number of techniques that have been used in the past by practical statisticians, who, in their haste to accumulate data, often



resorted to crude short-cuts and mistook techniques for methods, and failed to refine their analysis for unsusceptibility of the data to statistical treatment. After all, the crucial test of validity of quantitative method rests on its inclusiveness, its ability to estimate and investigate successfully the contents of phenomena (as well as their forms), those seemingly intangible, elusive elements which constitute the difference between real family living and incomplete, bare consumption of a range of goods by a family. The master concept of statistics is stability and not precision, and, since that is precisely what the Le Play School sets out to achieve, it is just as "statistical" as, and even more so than, the so-called "Statistical Schools." However, one cannot help admiring the thoroughgoing excellence of that portion of Miss Williams' sketch which deals with adult equivalents and other scales for comparative equalization of consumption, and can only regret that she does not stress the fact of their present limited applicability, their intricate interrelationships, and their variation in different social structures.

The annotated bibliography covers approximately 1,500 studies of family living made in 52 countries. Here for the first time in the history of consumption studies we have a vast and formidable array of data, presented in a rough analytical manner, and which includes numerous studies that are almost forgotten or ordinarily inaccessible. Moreover, it is distinctly more than merely an annotated bibliography; a good half, at least, of the items included are in the nature of complete and coherent abstracts, making the volume a mine of invaluable information for all students of consumption for years to come and a convenient and indispensable handbook for specialists in the field. It would be, of course, easy to pick minor flaws in a book of such tremendous scope. On the whole, this section is an excellent bird's-eye view of the consumption habits and family living of the peoples of the world, both in the present and in the past. The reviewer should point out, however, a few misprints and omissions. Thus on pp. 25 and 386 the name L. N. Maress and on p. 390 the name of L. M. Bobyr-Bukhanovski are misspelled, and that the missing name in item 1123 is I. S. Zakharoff. One regrets, also, that certain important works were not included; in the Russian section particularly the studies of D. P. Juravski (1846) and of Lazarevski are conspicuous by their absence. One should also raise several questions about the last group of studies classed under "several countries." In the first place, a number of other items could have been with equal justice included in this section; and, in the second place, a number of those included here are of great theoretical significance and should have been discussed at length in the first two parts of the volume.

The last part of the volume, some 145 pages, devoted to keys to material and method appears extremely unsatisfactory to the reviewer. The elaborate codes and classifications of material and method, it is true, would be of help

to a tyro in the field of family living, but they leave a more mature student with a feeling of frustration. It seems that here we see a concrete example of "crude quantitiveness"; the labor of careful analysis is apparently there, but its bases and meaning elude us. It is regrettable that so much effort and space that could have been devoted to analytical and integrated summary are misapplied here. Having been to some extent associated with Professor Zimmerman in this work, and knowing his attitude toward the question, the reviewer cannot help wondering how such a situation could come about. And particularly why his summary of the Laws of Consumption and Living was omitted entirely. There is no doubt in the reviewer's mind that *as it stands* this volume is a definite landmark in the study of family living. But for the omission of an integrated summary it would become a classic in our literature.

Harvard University

J. W. BOLDYREFF.

*Introduction to Rural Sociology.* By Charles Russell Hoffer. Revised Edition. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1934. Pp. xiv, 500. \$3.00.

This is the second edition of Professor Hoffer's book which appeared in 1930. The changes occurring in the new edition include the addition of three new chapters, one each on rural children, rural youth, and rural leaders; the rewriting of some chapters and portions of chapters; the addition of about one hundred pages to the length of the book; more complete lists of chapter references; the addition to each chapter of a list of suggested questions for discussion; and certain changes in the arrangement of chapters.

As now organized, the introductory section contains the conventional chapter on the content of rural sociology and one on the occupation of farming. Part II contains chapters on the general facts of the rural population, on children, youth, leaders, dependents and delinquents, and farm laborers. Part III deals with rural institutions, including recreational activities, health, and standards of living. Part IV is concerned with rural organization.

It is difficult for the reviewer to distinguish the logical basis which the author followed in grouping his chapters. The chapters on recreation, health, and standards of living, placed under the head of "Population and Its Characteristics" in the first edition, now occurs under the head of "Institutions," while the chapter on groups still remains under "Population" instead of being transferred to the section on "Organization." The chapter on the occupational characteristics of farming, now placed in the introductory section, might with equal logic, perhaps, have been left in the section on "Population" where it occurred in the first edition. It is true, of course, that logic is not the only basis for chapter arrangement. The particular method of presentation used by the instructor is also an important factor. It might have been helpful to those who will use the book as a text if the author had explained his method of approach.

The style of the book is easy and simple. It deals with the subject in a rather concrete, though not particularly objective, manner. It attempts to deal with the general characteristics of rural life as contrasted with special or sectional characteristics, and although recently revised does not become involved in a discussion of the circumstances surrounding agriculture and rural life during the last six years.

The reviewer feels that the book possesses considerable merit for use in classes of college freshmen, or even in senior high school classes. Students who have grown up on the farm will find in the book much that will help them to rationalize their experiences, and students unfamiliar with farm life will find much detail that will help them to visualize the circumstances in which country people live. Such a book may perform a useful function in providing the student with a richer mental content with which to approach the more intricate problems of rural sociology.

Ohio State University

C. E. LIVELY

*Six Rural Problem Areas: Relief—Resources—Rehabilitation: An Analysis of the Human and Material Resources in Six Rural Areas with High Relief Rates.* By P. G. Beck and M. C. Foster. Washington: Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Division of Research, Statistics and Finance, 1935. Pp. ix, 167.

*Comparative Study of Rural Relief and Non-Relief Households.* By Thomas C. McCormick. Washington: Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, 1935. Pp. xiii, 141.

The literature concerning the problems of relief in urban communities is abundant. By comparison the amount of material available regarding the problems of rural relief is scanty. During the last few years the Federal Emergency Relief Administration has made available a number of pamphlets containing the results of surveys conducted by that Administration. Workers in the field of rural sociology will welcome the two monographs of broader scope recently released by the same Administration.

The first of these monographs entitled *Six Rural Problem Areas* presents, in easily understood terms, figures and descriptive materials which are of major importance, since the data concerning families on relief are closely related to the economy in which the families live. The facts concerning these areas must be dealt with by any worker in the rural field not only from the standpoint of abstract theory but also from the practical standpoint of developing a working program.

The authors would make no claim to having outlined a comprehensive report on the particular areas. They might, however, well claim to have laid their

fingers on some of the outstanding problems with which not only the federal government but local governments and private agencies must also deal. The maps and pictographs are also enlightening.

The second monograph entitled *Comparative Study of Rural Relief and Non-relief Households* does not have the broad scope to be found in the first. It deals with a somewhat more restricted problem. The author has, however, laid down figures which may well serve to clarify the nature of the rural relief problem. It becomes amazingly clear from these data and descriptions that no hard and fast line can be drawn between relief and non-relief households. Both are faced with many of the same problems. However, there are distinctions both in family characteristics and in the way in which the two groups are forced to face these problems.

From the standpoint of social policy and the planning of social programs, the necessity for such a study is clear. For example, several federal programs have been undertaken for the purpose of aiding "agriculture." The programs which have been carried out by the Farm Credit Administration and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration were not conceived primarily for the so-called relief families. The author points out that in some of the areas surveyed the Farm Credit Administration was more often of assistance to "non-relief" farmers than to the "relief" farmers. Likewise a larger percentage of operators in the non-relief group received aid from the Agricultural Adjustment Administration than those in the relief group. This should not be interpreted as a criticism of the administration of these programs. It simply indicates that the programs were not fitted to the particular problems of many of the persons in the lowest income groups.

The significance of the materials from the standpoint of policy will need to be worked out independently of this particular monograph. The data are here, however, to assist in that task.

Resettlement Administration

THOMAS C. BLAISDELL, JR.

*A History of Farmer Movements in the Southwest—1873-1925.* By Robert Lee Hunt. College Station, Texas: Agricultural and Mechanical College Press, 1935. Pp. vi, 192. \$1.25.

Professor Hunt in this treatise covers a period which encompasses the rise of the Grange, the Greenback Party, the Texas Farmers' Alliance, the Arkansas Agricultural Wheel, the Louisiana Farmers' Union, the amalgamation of these last three named state organizations, the rise of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union, the rise of the Farm Bureau, and the rise and fall of the Farm-Labor Union. In no area of the United States have so many protest farmers' organizations arisen as in the geographic area covered by Professor

Hunt's consideration, and while his is not the first treatise on these organizations in the Southwest, it does cover a wider scope than any previous one, and for the first time presents an authoritative account of the rise of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America.

The Farmers' Union was organized at Point, Texas, in 1902. Seven members of the original organizers were still living at the time Professor Hunt made his field investigation, six of whom were interviewed by Hunt. The daughter of Newt Gresham, founder of the Union, was also interviewed at length by Professor Hunt and thus information was gathered concerning one of the outstanding farmer movements in America, which it would have been impossible to gather had this original research been delayed only a few years.

Professor Hunt relates the rise of the Farmers' Alliance to its predecessor the Grange, and the rise of the Farmers' Union to its predecessor the Alliance, and makes the point that some of the leaders of each succeeding movement had had experience in the preceding movements.

In the analyses of each succeeding farmers' organization, an account is given of its educational, economic and political activities, and each in turn is related to the economic condition which furnished the cause for its rise. In this piece of research and in the publication of this document, Professor Hunt has made an original contribution and has covered the origin and rise of the last, except one, of the giant farmers' organizations which have arisen in the United States. Only the Agricultural Wheel, founded in 1880 at McBee's Schoolhouse, Des Ark, Arkansas, remains yet to be studied, and it is to be hoped that someone may in the very near future study the origin of that organization before its founders are all dead and the original documents lost for all time.

Resettlement Administration

CARL C. TAYLOR

*The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy.* By Charles S. Johnson, Edwin R. Embree, and W. W. Alexander. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935. Pp. ix, 81. \$1.00.

This little book is planned, according to its authors, to give the general reader a brief summary of a two-year study of cotton culture and farm tenancy. "The detailed investigations," it is said, "have been carried out by a corps of students under the direction of Dr. Rupert B. Vance and his colleagues of the University of North Carolina Institute for Research in Social Science, and of Professor Charles S. Johnson and his associates in the Department of Social Science of Fisk University." A committee of seventeen eminent liberals sign the preface.

In Chapter I the authors present the general economic and historical antecedents to the modern tenure problem, defining the various classes of farm tenants and analyzing the social and economic factors which, in their opinion,

account for the low social status of tenants "whose lives are hopelessly broken by the system." In Chapter II the authors discuss the credit system of southern agriculture, which they allege (quoting Louis XIV of France in this connection) "supports agriculture as the cord supports the hanged." The small-farm owner as well as the tenant is victimized by the vicious credit system. Chapter III is an attempt to forecast the future trend of the cotton-tenant farming system, particularly in the Old South. The cotton tenant under depression and recovery programs is discussed in Chapter IV. In the fifth and final chapter, the authors propose a way out. There are, in their opinion, only four alternatives for the "half-million to million families . . . no longer needed as cotton tenants." These alternatives are: (1) starvation; (2) permanent support on relief rolls; (3) finding new work in cities; and (4) reorganization of farming in the old cotton states.

The fourth alternative is held to be the only "acceptable and feasible choice." This can be accomplished, it is stated, mainly through an agency set up by the federal government which would buy land from large holders and redistribute it through long-time leases and purchase contracts.

The authors deny that their proposed program would "solve all the problems of the rural south." There would still remain the problems of soil depletion, a traditional attachment to a single cash-crop farming system, race prejudice, and attitudes of "general shiftlessness and incompetence of workers, both white and colored, who make up the large marginal-farm population."

Although the authors have prepared a readable compact volume on land tenure fact and theory, they have unfortunately left themselves open to criticism on several significant points.

1. The results of studies made in a few small areas are applied to the entire Cotton Belt. These areas may possibly be representative of a large section of the Cotton Belt, but this has not been demonstrated by the authors. A critical reader would say that the authors have selected those facts which agreed with their theories. A recent study in five North Carolina tenant areas does not agree at all with the conclusions of Johnson, Embree, and Alexander as to the welfare of tenants and croppers under the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

2. The collapse of the cotton-farming system in the Old South is not nearly so imminent as the authors would have us believe. Agricultural economists are wondering in this connection if the authors of *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy* have considered the principle of *comparative advantage*. North Carolina may not be able to produce cotton as cheaply as Texas, but, even so, the average North Carolina farmer may find it more profitable, for a long time to come, to grow cotton rather than, say, wheat, hay, or livestock. After the fertile soils of Texas have worn out through one-crop farming, and the vast plains of Texas,

now being scraped clean by tractor plows, have blown away, farmers on little improved fields in the southeastern United States will be growing cotton as a paying enterprise in their farming structure. Furthermore, if manufacturers of farm machinery behave in the future as in the past, the Texas farmer will find the cost of his machines a significant factor in the cost of producing cotton.

3. The bibliography, strange to say, omits some of the best modern literature on the land-tenure problem. I refer particularly to "Farm Tenancy in the United States," by Goldenweiser and Truesdell, and to "Farm Ownership and Tenancy," by L. C. Gray, *et al.* The former reference is a United States Census *Monograph* and the latter is an article in the 1923 *Yearbook of Agriculture*.

4. The proposed solution of the tenant problem is unrealistic in several respects. First, it does not recognize the difficulty which the government would have, under our present state and national constitutions, in buying large amounts of good farming land at reasonable prices. Second, the plan retreats from the social and economic principles of large-scale farming. Granted that large-scale farming under our historic social system has failed, does that mean that we must throw useful social and economic principles overboard? Can we not set up a system of agricultural production which would utilize all possible low-cost devices (mechanical, economic, or social) and at the same time provide for a fair distribution of real income to labor, e.g., collective farming?

North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station      C. HORACE HAMILTON

# News Notes and Announcements

The annual business meeting of the Section on Rural Sociology, American Sociological Society, was held at the Commodore Hotel, New York City, December 29, 1935. The meeting was called to order by the Chairman of the Section, Mr. B. L. Hummel, at 9:45 a. m. The minutes of the 1934 meeting were read and approved. The Secretary-Treasurer's report was read and accepted.

Dr. C. E. Lively, Chairman of the Galpin Album Committee, reported on the work of the Committee in the preparation of the Album, and outlined plans for presenting the Album to Dr. Galpin at an early meeting of the District of Columbia Sociological Society. The Secretary-Treasurer was instructed to collect the bills from those contributing to the Album. Dr. T. B. Manny moved that the Album be accepted by the Section and that Professor Lively and the Committee be thanked for their work; and cost of the Album be pro rated according to the plan outlined by Professor Lively. The motion was seconded and carried.

Mr. Hummel described the problems he had encountered in preparing the program for the Rural Section. He emphasized the difficulty of obtaining an adequate number of sessions because of the regulations of the general Society concerning section meetings, and the regulations on the time section meetings were to be held.

E. L. Kirkpatrick requested a report on the publication plans for papers presented at the Section's meeting last year. The Secretary reported that the plans to publish papers of the Rural Section in an enlarged issue of *Rural America* had failed because some authors had made previous arrangements for publication and others had requested the privilege of finding their own publishers.

Several members of the Section suggested the need for improved publication facilities for rural sociologists and for an improved and enlarged annual program to include material of interest to teachers of rural sociology as well as the research and extension personnel.

Dr. Bruce Melvin moved that the Rural Section request that one or more issues of the forthcoming *Sociological Review* be devoted to the presentation of rural material. Seconded by Dwight Sanderson. Dr. B. Youngblood of the Experiment Station Office, United States Department of Agriculture, in commenting on the motion stressed the value to rural sociology of (1) a strong professional organization through which rural sociologists could promote their own interests, and (2) a regular channel for the publication of papers. He pointed out the advantages of these two items in promoting rural sociology work in the Experiment Stations. Dr. Melvin withdrew his motion. Dr. C. C.



Taylor moved that the incoming chairman of the Section on Rural Sociology be instructed to appoint a committee to assume the responsibility of discovering and creating channels by which the maximum amount of space could be obtained for rural sociology articles in some standard publication. Motion seconded by Dean Fred C. Frey. Motion carried. In the discussion of the motion, it was suggested that the committee investigate the possibility of establishing a quarterly journal of rural sociology, and that if the committee set up an independent journal of rural sociology it be possible to subscribe to the journal without joining the American Sociological Society.

Dean Fred C. Frey moved that the incoming executive committee be instructed to study the possibilities of forming an autonomous organization of the Rural Sociology Section and to make their recommendations to the members of the Rural Section previous to the next annual meeting. Motion seconded and carried.

Dr. C. E. Lively suggested the possibility of holding a meeting of the rural sociologists in addition to the Rural Section meetings of the American Sociological Society. Dr. T. Lynn Smith moved that the incoming officers be authorized to call a meeting for rural sociologists in addition to the official meetings of the American Sociological Society. Motion seconded and carried.

It was agreed that those interested in discussing the promotion of rural sociology research in the experiment stations and those interested in the development of the research program in the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life meet at 2:30, Room A, at the Commodore Hotel for an informal afternoon discussion with Dr. Youngblood and Dr. Carl Taylor.

The Nominating Committee, composed of Fred C. Frey, Chairman; Carl C. Taylor, and E. L. Kirkpatrick, reported the nomination of the following as officers for the coming year:

Chairman—Lowry Nelson.

Vice-Chairman—Ray E. Wakeley.

Secretary-Treasurer—T. Lynn Smith.

Members of the Executive Committee—N. L. Whetten, R. C. Hill.

C. C. Zimmerman moved that the report of the Nominating Committee be accepted and those nominated be declared elected. Motion seconded and carried.

Rural Section adjourned at 12:30 p. m.

ROBERT A. POLSON, *Secretary-Treasurer*

At the last Christmas meeting, the American Sociological Society voted to establish its own bi-monthly journal, the *American Sociological Review*. The first issue will appear in February. All members of the Society will receive it,

inasmuch as four dollars (\$4.00) of the annual membership dues of six dollars (\$6.00) are for a subscription to the *Review*. All communications concerning advertising and subscriptions should be sent to the Managing Editor, Professor Harold A. Phelps, University of Pittsburgh, and those concerning books and manuscripts to the Editor, Professor Frank H. Hankins, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts. The Associate Editors are L. L. Bernard, Jerome Davis, Neva Deardorff, J. K. Folsom, C. E. Gehlke, and J. L. Gillin. The Editorial Board desires to make the *Review* of the utmost value to all members of the Society, regarding it as a coöperative undertaking in which all are participants. Obviously, the quality of the *Review* will largely depend on the helpful interest taken in its contents by all individual members and all regional groups. Every effort will be made to report faithfully the creative thinking, the research activities, and the participation in practical affairs of all American sociologists, wherever they may be. In addition to the leading articles, present plans call for the eventual publication in each number of extensive bibliographical materials, including book reviews, lists of new books, and references to periodicals. In this field it is hoped that considerable attention can be given to foreign contributions, as well as to fugitive domestic materials not ordinarily receiving adequate attention. The *Review* is designed as an important working tool of American sociologists, and the active participation of as many workers as possible is desired. Consequently, all those who would like to do book reviews or list articles of sociological interest appearing in periodicals are urged to send in their names to the editorial office, with an indication of the subject of their greatest interest and the languages they read easily. Items of personal or departmental interest will also be given as much space as possible, and it is suggested that they be sent in without special solicitation. Notable service has been rendered the Society in the past by those members who called its activities to the attention of students, and it is hoped that in this same way a large number of student memberships can be secured.

Greetings are extended by the Editorial Board to all regional and specialized societies. This country is so large and membership is so numerous that there is abundant room for their activities.

C. Arnold Anderson, formerly of Harvard University, has been elected to the position of Assistant Professor of Rural Sociology at Iowa State College, where he assumed his duties on January 1, 1936.

P. G. Beck, formerly of Ohio State University and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, is in charge of the project-planning work of the Resettlement Administration in Region III. His headquarters are at Champaign, Illinois.

Howard W. Beers, recently of Washington State College and the University of Wisconsin, has been appointed Associate Professor of Rural Sociology at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

P. P. Denune of Ohio State University is spending the winter and spring quarters in California.

In coöperation with the Resettlement Administration, the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life is undertaking the following projects: "Techniques of Family Selection," directed by J. B. Holt; "Social Configuration in Resettlement Communities," directed by Charles P. Loomis; "Population Mobility and Family Living in a Rural Problem Area," directed by Charles P. Loomis and Conrad Taeuber. The Division of Farm Population and Rural Life is participating in a number of state projects. Charles P. Loomis is working with studies of Farm Family Living, and Conrad Taeuber is working with studies of Rural Population Mobility. A preliminary survey of farm labor has been started under the direction of J. C. Folsom. This project is financed by the Works Progress Administration. Field work is planned in North Carolina and New Jersey.

The Memorial Album for C. J. Galpin, which was prepared by the Rural Section of the American Sociological Society, was presented to Dr. Galpin at a meeting of the District of Columbia Chapter of the American Sociological Society on March 17th. The Album was compiled by a committee of which C. E. Lively was the chairman.

George W. Hill, who served as Assistant State Supervisor of Rural Research in South Dakota, and who later was with the Resettlement Administration, has accepted a position in the Department of Rural Sociology at the University of Wisconsin.

Harold C. Hoffsommer, formerly Professor of Sociology at Alabama Polytechnic Institute, and more recently Senior Research Analyst with the Works Progress Administration, has assumed his duties as Associate Professor of Rural Sociology at Louisiana State University. Professor Hoffsommer will divide his time between research in the Agricultural Experiment Station and teaching in the Department of Sociology.

A resurvey of the 140 village communities surveyed by the Institute of Social and Religious Research has been started under the direction of Professor Edmund de S. Brunner of Teachers College, Columbia University. State colleges of agriculture, state supervisors of rural research, the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, and numerous individuals are coöperating.

Plans have been formulated for some meetings of Iowa sociologists to be held in Des Moines, April 9, 10, and 11. Sociologists from neighboring states

are to be invited to these meetings. Economists of the Midwest are to assemble in Des Moines at the same time.

Paul H. Landis has been appointed Associate Professor of Rural Sociology at Washington State College, Pullman, Washington.

J. A. McAleer, who received his Master's Degree from Cornell University in February, 1936, has received an appointment to assist Professor B. L. Hummel in a Works Progress Administration research project at Blacksburg, Virginia.

The Seventh Short Course for Missionaries was held at Cornell University from January 20 to February 8. It was attended by thirty persons from nine countries of Asia, Africa, and South America, representing eight religious denominations. This course is conducted with the coöperation of the Agricultural Missions Foundation.

Lowry Nelson, Assistant Director of the Rural Resettlement Division, Resettlement Administration, has been appointed Director of the Utah Agricultural Experiment Station, Logan, Utah, effective July 1, 1936. Mr. Nelson is the first sociologist to become director of an experiment station. He was formerly Director of the Extension Division and Dean of the College of Applied Science at Brigham Young University in Provo.

The first annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society is to be held April 17-18 at the Biltmore Hotel in Atlanta, Georgia. C. Horace Hamilton of North Carolina State College is Chairman of the Section on Rural Life and Problems. At one general meeting of the Society, Linden S. Dodson of the Resettlement Administration, Monroe Work of Tuskegee Institute, and B. O. Williams of Clemson Agricultural College will read papers dealing with "Social Factors in Land Tenure." Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University and Edgar T. Thompson of Duke University will lead the discussion of these papers. At a luncheon meeting of the Section on Rural Life Problems the question for discussion is to be: "Will the Bankhead-Jones Act Solve the Land Tenure Problem?" Discussion leaders are Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University, Charles P. Loomis of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, United States Department of Agriculture, T. Lynn Smith of Louisiana State University, and Rupert Vance of the University of North Carolina.

The Southwestern Social Science Association will hold its annual meetings in Dallas and Fort Worth on April 9, 10, and 11. Professor O. D. Duncan of Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College is Chairman of the Sociology Section.

R. C. Smith has recently been made Regional Director of Region III for the Resettlement Administration. His headquarters are at Champaign, Illinois.

E. D. Tetreau, formerly a research analyst with the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and Associate Professor of Rural Sociology at the Ohio State University, has accepted a position as Rural Sociologist at the University of Arizona Agricultural Experiment Station.

*Family and Society* by Carle C. Zimmerman and M. E. Frampton (published by D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., New York, 1935) is being brought out this spring in an English edition by Williams and Norgate of London.

# *Rural Sociology*



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# Rural Sociology

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# Forms and Problems of Culture-Integration and Methods of Their Study

*Pitirim A. Sorokin*

## CULTURE-INTEGRATION AND CULTURE-UNITY—A DARK PROBLEM

**I**S EVERY culture an integrated whole, where no essential part is incidental but each organically connected with the rest? Or, is a culture a mere spatial congeries of objects, values, and traits, which have drifted fortuitously together and are united by spatial adjacency—elements merely thrown together—and nothing more? If the first alternative is chosen then we may ask: What is the principle of integration, the axis around which all the essential characteristics are centered and which explains why these characteristics are what they are and why they live and pulsate as they do? This is the problem which I shall consider briefly in this paper.

For the moment it is unimportant how we define human culture. *In the broadest sense it may mean the sum total of everything which is created or modified by the conscious or unconscious activity of two or more individuals interacting with one another or conditioning one another's behavior.*<sup>1</sup> According to this definition, not only science, philosophy, religion, art, technics, and all the physical paraphernalia of an advanced civilization are cultural phenomena; but the trace of a foot-

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is one of the introductory chapters of my work, now in process of completion, on *Integrated Culture, Its Types and Life-Processes: A Study of Socio-Cultural Fluctuations*. The author is indebted to the Harvard Committee for Research in the Social Sciences, for financial help in the preparation of this study.



step on the sand left by a savage and seen by Robinson Crusoe, a heap of refuse and broken trees left by an exploring party in a virgin forest, the bones, shells and ashes left by some prehistoric tribe in the ground excavated by an archeologist—these and millions of other human creations and modifications are all a part of culture. Such a definition is the broadest possible, and these wide limits are accepted by many anthropologists and sociologists. Others give a narrower definition, limiting culture to collective and superindividual creations (Tylor); or creations which are marked by "exteriority and constraint" (Durkheim); or those which are due not to heredity but to invention, imitation or borrowing (Tarde); or those which represent a variety of social thought (De Roberty); or, finally, only the finest and most magnificent creations of human genius in the form of masterpieces in science, philosophy, religion, art, law, and technique.

Which of these definitions is correct is unimportant for my present purposes. Most of them, however, are far from being clear and satisfactory, for they replace one unknown,  $x$ , by another factor not better known,  $y$ .<sup>2</sup> But I shall not press this point. Instead I ask, to what extent are these definitions used consistently by their authors in discussing the problem of integrated and non-integrated culture? And how much do they help towards a comprehension of all the numerous subsidiary questions connected with that basic problem?

Many cultural anthropologists, sociologists, historians, and social scientists seem to assume unreservedly that each culture is an integrated whole, and that non-integrated culture either does not exist or represents something rare and abnormal. Here is a typical example of this view:

A culture is a functioning dynamic unit and the various traits which compose it are interdependent. A culture trait does not function in isolation nor independently of other traits of the culture, but each is influenced by a change in any

<sup>2</sup> For instance, what are the criteria which distinguish the peculiarly "individual" from "group" traits? Likewise, there are enormous difficulties involved in separating clearly "inherited" from "acquired" traits, or the traits which are stamped by "exteriority" and "constraint" from those which are "free" and "internal." In this, as well as in the subsequent points discussed, analytical thinking has been shallow.

phase of the culture. . . . Since the traits which comprise a culture are interrelated, an innovation affects the entire culture.<sup>3</sup>

The assumption here is one of complete integration, that no trait can be properly understood without a consideration of the whole culture in question. Almost all of those who claim that culture is a unity, or an organism, or a living and functioning whole (from the promulgators of various organistic, organismic, and organic theories of society and culture, from the sociological realists and universalists, to the Spenglerian type of philosophers) are either explicit or implicit partisans of this belief.<sup>4</sup> The same is true of those who with one factor or variable—be it economic, racial, geographic, familistic, or religious—try to explain the main characteristics of a given culture as mere functions of the selected variable or factor. In essence, such theories assume the existence of a causal or functional relationship between a main factor and the other properties of a given culture, making the other properties merely the "superstructure," the "result," the "function," or the "satellite" of the factor postulated. Such a theory in its very nature assumes that the culture is functionally integrated.

But the champions of the integrated character of culture do not agree in all respects. Some seem to assume an integration with no reservations, as illustrated in the statements by Wilson D. Wallis which were quoted above. Others make reservations similar to the following: "A culture, like an individual, is a more or less *consistent* pattern of thought and action. . . . This integration of cultures is not in the least mythical." It is true, the author continues, that "Some cultures, like some periods of art, fail of such integration. . . . But cultures at every level of complexity, even the simplest, have achieved it." And further we read, "This lack of integration seems to be as characteristic of certain cultures as extreme integration is of others."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Wilson D. Wallis, *Culture and Progress* (New York, 1930), pp. 11-12, and chaps. i and ii. Cf. Howard Becker, "Culture Case Study," *Social Forces*, XII (1934), 399; Sanford Winston, *Culture and Human Behavior* (New York, 1935), p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of these theories see my *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (New York, 1928), chaps. ii, iv, and vii.

<sup>5</sup> Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (Boston, 1934), pp. 46-48.

Most of the recent anthropologists who have dealt intensively with this problem belong to one of the above varieties.<sup>6</sup> Many of them like Benedict, Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, Mead, Sapir, Wissler, and Dixon virtually claim that a culture is a unity, a functional whole; that it has its own pattern; that it must be studied in its whole configuration if its separate traits are to be properly understood and interpreted. A somewhat similar claim is made by the "statistical investigators."<sup>7</sup>

On the other hand, these investigators indicate that a combination of the culture traits and culture complexes as well as the whole of a given culture may in some cases be "logical," or, in other cases, merely "accidental";<sup>8</sup> in some cases there are "external associations" of the traits, in others "adhesions" or their intrinsic association;<sup>9</sup> some cultures may be "genuine," while others are "spurious."<sup>10</sup> Such distinctions make the meaning of the unity or interdependence or integration of culture somewhat indefinite; in a sense they contradict the claim that all cultures are integrated. If some cultures are purely "accidental" or "external" or "spurious" masses of objects, traits, and values, can such congeries be regarded as integrated wholes or unities? If so, does not this make the concept of unity and integration meaningless, since every congeries would now possess organic unity and nothing in the world would be unintegrated? If such an accidental agglomeration is not a unity, then is not this a contradiction of the claim that every culture is an integrated whole? These considerations show the confusion which exists in the field. The chief reason for this confusion seems to be that

<sup>6</sup> See Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (New York, 1928); Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture* (New York, 1923); Roland B. Dixon, *The Building of Cultures* (New York, 1928); Edward Sapir, *Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture: A Study in Method* (Ottawa, 1916); Bronislaw Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (New York, 1926); "Culture," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, 1931), IV, 621-46; A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "On the Concept of Functional Social Science," *American Anthropologist*, XXXVII (1935), 394-402.

<sup>7</sup> E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (London, 1899); and Leonard T. Hobhouse, G. C. Wheeler, and M. Ginsburg, *The Social Institutions and Material Culture of the Simpler Peoples* (London, 1915).

<sup>8</sup> Dixon, *op. cit.*, pp. 156 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Wissler, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Edward Sapir, "Culture, Genuine and Spurious," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXIX (1924), 401-29.

most of the investigators fail to elucidate exactly what they mean by integration, or unity, or interdependence of parts, or organic character as applied to a culture. As we shall see, either they mean nothing specific, or they include in one term several things so fundamentally different that the whole statement about the integrated character of culture becomes void of clear meaning. Until the investigators make at least an elementary analysis of what they mean by these terms, no real understanding of either the structure and nature of culture, or its traits, or its changes is possible. In the pages which follow, I consider this problem and indicate the main forms of relationship between the various culture traits, characteristics, and complexes from the standpoint of integration, and consequently what may be the main divergent meanings of culture-integration.

#### VARIOUS MEANINGS OF CULTURE-INTEGRATION

Many of us are familiar with the fine living rooms of some of our well-to-do friends. I have in mind such a room. It is spacious and is filled with exquisite furniture and rare objects of art. It contains a few pieces of antique New England furniture. The ceremonial costume of a Russian priest ("riza") is fastened to one of the walls. Side by side with it is a picture representative of a famous Japanese school of painting. Then there are two works by a French Impressionist and one by a prominent Cubistic painter. There are also an Italian Primitive, two genuine statues of Buddha imported from Siam, two Chinese vases of the T'ang period, and several other treasures of different times and countries. On the floors antique Oriental rugs lie near a hooked rug of old New England. We may say that the living room is a "culture area." Now the question arises: Is the culture represented by the living room an integrated whole, or is it a mere spacial conglomeration of various things (each valuable separately), and is this adjacency the only bond which unites them into a single cultural complex?

Let us assume for a moment that spatial adjacency is the only bond of union. Shall we then style an array of this sort by the term "integrated culture"? Or shall we refuse the term to such accumulations?

Whether or not we grant the term, is of little importance. What is important is that there do exist cultural conglomerations where the parts are bound together by different and additional ties. Suppose we take such a culture area as the Cathedral of Chartres. Most of its component details are not only spatially adjacent but of the same style, and thus are comprehensive parts of the whole—the cathedral of the Christian religion as it was in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. When the essence of the religion is understood, the meaning of almost all of its important venerated objects and forms becomes comprehensible; the parts become inseparable from the whole and from one another. They are, to use an analogy, like the lines and phrases of one book, unified, consistent, devoted to the same topic, where every page is part of the whole, and to be properly understood demands the reading of the rest of the book. The difference between this kind of integrated culture area and that which is based on mere spatial adjacency is evident without further comment.

Let us take, instead of a cathedral, a modern garage or filling station, or factory. Each of these culture complexes is certainly unified. In each the individual components of the total mass of culture objects and traits bear a functional relationship to one another and to the whole, and the entire complex is thus functionally integrated. In the filling station you cannot eliminate either the automatic gasoline fillers, or the air pump, or the tanks, or any of the other essential parts. And this is true of the garage or factory. There are, of course, superficial details such as the architectural style of the building, the landscaping and planting of the surrounding grounds. But subtract these and there still will remain a causal (functional) system of objects, traits, and complexes which cannot be separated without destroying the essential nature of the station, garage, or factory. Here again we sense a coalescence different from that of mere spatial adjacency.

Still another shade of difference in the integration of culture appears when one observes, let us say, a part of a city where, within the area of a few blocks, one sees a conglomeration of Late Gothic, Renaissance

and Baroque buildings, surrounded by the usual flat, two or three-story box-houses. Compare this with the medieval parts of some European cities where everything in sight is Gothic, or with a few blocks in the city of New York occupied entirely by skyscrapers. The difference is immediately evident.

The preceding examples are taken from the realm of "material" culture. Let us turn for further instances to "immaterial" culture. Suppose we take, on the one hand, August Comte's *System of Positive Philosophy*, and, on the other, one of the recent texts in *Social Problems*. Putting aside the question as to whether this or that theory expounded in these works is true, throughout all the volumes of Comte there runs a unity of fundamental principles which binds all the chapters into a logical unity. Unless Comte's law of the three stages is associated with his classification of sciences and principles of positive knowledge, the chapters lose their chief meaning. The work is inwardly integrated by the logic of its main principles. In the text on *Social Problems*, however, usually one chapter treats of Poverty, another of Crime, a third of Fascism or Communism, another of Case Method, another of Religion, another of the City and the Farmer; something may be said on Ecology; Ecology is perhaps followed by a chapter on the Negro and Race Problems; then the book is further enriched by pages on the Family and Birth Control, the League of Nations, and countless other subjects. When one tries to find what unites all these topics, one often finds only the binding of the book. They are connected neither logically nor functionally. The book has become a dumping place for a miscellaneous heap of topics, theories, ideas, facts, their only connection being that of spatial adjacency.

Take a further example from the field of music. Consider the "Gregorian Chant," or Mozart's "Concerto in G Minor," on the one hand, and, on the other, a musical composition by a Hollywood "composer," in which jazz is interspersed with phrases taken from Tschaikevsky, Wagner, Bizet, Handel, Hayden, Berlioz, Bach, and Stravinsky. The contrast is similar to those already considered; one is a consistent, inte-

grated whole; the other is the "dumping place" of opposite and unrelated fragments united on the pages of a manuscript or played in adjacent units of time.

This is enough illustration. It has been shown that there are various forms of integration which differ fundamentally from one another. Now we can attempt to arrange them, reducing their multiplicity to a few fundamental classes and indicating the basis of integration for each class.'

#### CLASSIFICATION OF THE MAIN FORMS OF THE INTEGRATION OF CULTURE ELEMENTS

The numerous interrelations of the various elements<sup>11</sup> of culture can be reduced to four basic types: 1. *Spatial or Mechanical Adjacency*, ranging from a loose and accidental concurrence of two or more cultural objects to a mechanical union of the elements into one structural unity (say glued, cemented, sewn, or tied together). 2. *Association Due to an External Factor*. 3. *Functional or Causal Integration*. 4. *Internal or Logico-Meaningful Unity*.

*Spatial or Mechanical Adjacency (Congeries)*. This means any conglomeration of cultural elements (objects, traits, values, ideas) in a given area of social and physical space, with spatial or mechanical concurrence as the only bond of union. A dump in which there are fragments of a great variety of objects—pieces of paper, broken bottles, empty cans, fragments of clothing, discarded spoons, wire, garbage, furniture, ashes, coal, tools—provides an example of such a combination. All these objects drifted or were thrown together, and spatial proximity is the only bond uniting them. An attic with its miscellaneous array of articles, from the ancient family album to the broken chair, is another example. The drawing room mentioned above, with

<sup>11</sup> The usual division of the elements of culture into "traits," "complexes," and unified "patterns" is very relative; any element can be regarded in one case as a trait, in others as a complex or even a pattern. The same is true of the pattern and the complex. Therefore there is no need to follow this division. It still must undergo a great deal of critical analysis before it can become a real tool for scientific study of cultural phenomena. The term "element" as used in the present context means a part of a given cultural conglomeration, no matter whether the part is a trait, a complex, or even a pattern.

its valuable but functionally or logically unrelated furnishings, is still another. The same may be said of the cases of the spatial conglomeration of various architectural styles and of the logically unrelated discussions of various social problems within the limits of one book. Two pieces of paper (for example, a page from Plato's *Republic* and the advertisement of an automobile company) glued together into one meaningless mechanical unity; an Ionic or Corinthian column attached to a flat-roofed garage without architectural, aesthetic, or structural significance; these and hundreds of similar combinations are examples of the spatial and purely mechanical congeries of various cultural objects and values.<sup>12</sup> As a matter of fact, what anthropologists call a culture area is often nothing more than a spatial adjacency of the traits and complexes of the area in question. The same is to be said of the culture complexes which Dixon calls "accidental." The anthropologists themselves have indicated neither functional nor inherent and logical bonds between various complexes and traits found within the area. This does not mean that, if proper search is made, such bonds may not be found. It means that, owing to the lack of a preliminary analysis of various forms of integration, many anthropologists and sociologists pay attention only to spatial and mechanical distribution, to whether integration is concentric or eccentric, and to the frequency of occurrence of its elements; they forget to analyze carefully the further bonds, functional and logical, that may unite these traits.

Is there such a further liaison? If so, what is its nature? With reference not only to primitive culture but also to modern culture, the search for answers to such questions is often lacking. For instance, Wissler finds three dominant characteristics in our culture: *mechanical invention*, *mass education*, and *universal suffrage*.<sup>13</sup> Let us grant that

<sup>12</sup> It may be conceded that the components of such a congeries did not drift together entirely without cause. But as the "causes" are diverse and numerous, their total effect amounts to that of mere accident, as of an unforeseen crossing of two or more unrelated causal series. Such accidental relations are fundamentally different from the causal in a proper sense. See Borel, *Le Hasard* (Paris, 1914); also A. Cournot, *Traité de l'enchaînement des idées fondamentales dans les sciences et dans l'histoire* (Paris, 1861); H. Poincaré, *Science et Méthode* (Paris, 1920), pp. 64ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Man and Culture*, pp. 5 ff.



this is so. If, however, we ask: Is the coexistence of these three complexes within the area of the United States merely a spatial congeries? Or is it something functionally or internally determined? To these questions we have virtually no answers. And were positive answers hazarded, we might ask: What unites these three complexes into one functional or logical unity? We could then be sure of complete silence. The problems themselves are not raised, so it is not strange that the answers should be lacking. The same questions may be asked—and with no higher expectation of results—about the other traits of American life which Wissler adds to the foregoing three: nationalism,<sup>14</sup> the veneration of the Bible (in connection with the whole problem of Euro-American culture), the sacred seventh day, the codification of the law, militarism, and commercialism.<sup>15</sup>

Therefore, when the author says the culture of the United States is "unique" and "typical" and represents a "unity," these statements mean almost nothing, because even a dump is unique, is a spatial unity, and because if all such accidental conglomerations are styled "typical" and "unities," then everything in the world is typical and unified, and the terms become meaningless. To put the problem in another form, we may ask: Is the combination of traits—mechanical invention, mass-education, universal suffrage, nationalism, militarism, the Bible, the seventh sacred day, commercialism—a mere accidental congeries? Or is it a deeper unity, where one part cannot be taken from the others nor exist apart from them? If the first, then any accumulation of contiguous elements of culture will be a culture area, unique, typical, united, integrated. In that case the enormous difference between functional or logical unity and merely accidental, mechanical, or spatial unity is denied, and into one class are put phenomena of entirely different kinds. In that case no difference will be recognized between a haphazard pile of bricks, and, let us say, a house, or between the unassembled parts of an automobile and the automobile itself. Such an equalization of totally different classes of unity is evidently inadmissible.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 25 ff.

If, however, the answer to the question is that the above complex is functionally or inwardly united, then the author must show that we cannot find nationalism without the other traits, the Bible without mechanical inventions, commercialism without mass education, mass education without militarism, universal suffrage without the Bible, and so on. Any attempt to prove all this will be a large order; neither Wissler nor anybody else is able to do it, because, as a matter of fact, each of these elements has existed and exists without many of the other elements of Wissler's Euro-American complex. The complex is such that its elements are separable functionally and logically. Therefore it is not a functional or logical unity in the form in which it is put before us. To sum up, the author, like a great many other anthropologists, ended his analysis where it should have begun. For this reason many of his statements concerning the unity, uniqueness, typicalness, continuity, change, transformation, or span of life of cultural configurations are exceedingly vague, and in part fallacious. Since different sorts of unity are lumped together without distinction, it is natural that the derivative concepts are also a kind of "hash" made out of fundamentally different things.

What is said regarding Wissler's work may be said of many other similar studies. Most of them suffer from the lack of distinction between purely spatial adjacency and functional or logico-internal unity.

*Indirect Unification Through a Common External Factor.* A somewhat greater unification occurs when two or more spatially adjacent culture elements, although lacking functional or logical connection, are related to one another through the association of each with a common factor external to both or all of them. In the northern part of Vologda province in North Russia, for example, the following culture elements exist together: *vodka* as a beverage; skis used by peasants in the winter; houses built out of heavy timber; large stoves for heating; felt winter boots; the gathering together during the winter evenings of the boys and girls in each of their houses in turn; the performance of plays, singing, and love making. None of these elements requires the others

either logically or functionally. *Vodka* as such does not require skis or felt boots; felt boots do not require a large stove or specific forms of winter-evening entertainment. But all of these traits are perceptibly connected with the climatic conditions of the area with its cold and its long winters. Each trait, through its connection with the climatic factor, is likewise affiliated indirectly with the other traits. As a result we have a unification of heterogeneous culture elements, not only spatially, but also through their connection with one common external factor. This is the unification spoken of by many sociological and anthropological integrators. When Wissler refers to the "tundra-mesa-jungle" cultures, and the complexes and patterns of each of these types, he implies an integration of this kind.<sup>16</sup> When social geographers try to indicate the unity of the many cultural traits of a given area in terms of its geographic conditions, they are talking of the same type of integration. In fact, all the theories which account for either the whole or a part of the traits of a given culture through the geographic, the biological (heredity, race, selection) or any similar factor *outside* of the culture itself are attempting an integration of this kind.<sup>17</sup>

This kind of unity is nearer a true integration than that of mere spatial adjacency, but it is still a very low and loose form of integration. A group of heterogeneous traits united only by an external factor does not possess inward cohesion; it is possible to replace any single trait by another which is quite different, provided only that the new trait meets the requirement of connection with the unifying external factor. In northern Russia whisky or rum could serve instead of *vodka*; instead of skis, snowshoes could be used; instead of a large stove made of brick, any stove capable of heating the house well would serve; instead of plays and games during the winter evenings, bridge or dominoes or other pastimes would be suitable. The parts are easily removed and easily replaced. A change in one such element does not require a

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 230 ff. See also Wissler's, *The Relation of Nature to Man in Aboriginal America* (New York, 1926).

<sup>17</sup> See my discussion of these theories in *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, chaps. i, ii, iii, iv, v, and to some extent, vi and vii.

change in the others. The remaining configuration of the culture would suffer little modification, since no direct functional or logical unity exists.

*Causal or Functional Integration.* By this is meant a combination of cultural elements composing one inseparable unity. Usually, when the elements are "material," functional unity is superimposed upon spatial adjacency and external association, but not every spatially adjacent or externally related combination will be a functionally integrated unity. The parts of an automobile, spread over the floor of a factory, or packed into one box before being assembled, are a mere spatial array. When they are assembled as an automobile, their combination becomes functional and operates so that every important part depends upon the others. The same may be said of the house in contradistinction to the sum of the materials of which it is built—stone, cement, bricks, timber, paint, nails, and so on. Dumped together in one yard, these elements form a mere heap of contiguous parts. When the house is built, it is a structural and functional unity. The same is true of the essential elements of various other "logical" (in Dixon's terminology) culture complexes, like the "horse complex" or the "milk complex."

Similarly, causal or functional unity is of a far higher degree of integration than that of a number of elements spatially adjacent and related through a common external factor. In a functional array the parts are related to one another directly, or, if indirectly, by several internal "centers" which are closer to them in essential nature than is the case in a purely external integration. Every cell of an organism or every bolt in a car is not adjacent or directly related to all the other cells or parts. But all the cells of the organism are directly connected through the nervous system, the circulation of the blood, and the organs, just as the bolts or other parts are united through the frame of the car, the electrical system, and so on. And these unifying factors are all internal to the system itself.

But the simple cases we have been considering are far from exhausting the problems of the functional integration of cultural elements. The field is infinitely larger and more important. In order to make this

clear, a few diagnostic criteria of the functional relationship between the parts of a cultural configuration should be pointed out. Simply stated, they consist chiefly of the *tangible, noticeable, testifiable*,<sup>18</sup> *direct interdependence (mutual or one-sided) of the variables or parts upon one another and upon the whole system*. If variation A is always followed by B (under the same conditions and in a large enough number of cases so that mere chance is eliminated), we say that they are functionally related. *This means that any cultural synthesis is to be regarded as functional when, on the one hand, the elimination of one of its important elements perceptibly influences the rest of the synthesis in its functions (and usually in its structure), and when, on the other hand, the separate element, being transposed to a different combination, either cannot exist in it or has to undergo a profound modification to become a part of it*. Such is the symptomatic barometer of internal integration, a device which merely applies the principle of causality or functionalism to each case in question.

One can now see the profound difference between mere spatial adjacency, external unification, and the deeper synthesis of functional unity. A bolt or spring taken from an unassembled pile of automobile parts does not modify the pile essentially; removed from an assembled car, it may completely prevent the performance of the car. Moreover, the bolt or spring itself does not change in significance when removed from a miscellaneous heap, but if it be detached from a machine in which it performs an essential function, it loses that function entirely.<sup>19</sup> Similarly,

<sup>18</sup> "Tangible, noticeable, testifiable" because theoretically everything in this world is connected. But in some cases (for instance, in the case of the sneezing of a native of the Trobriand Islands and the monetary policy of the United States) the liaison is so negligible that we cannot discover any functional connection between them. In other cases (for instance, a shot by one man and the wound of another following the shot) the connection is evident and testifiable.

<sup>19</sup> Already we note that statements like "the various traits of culture are interdependent," "an innovation affects the entire culture," "the interdependence of traits is a universal characteristic of culture," "when a new trait is added the entire culture is modified" (Wallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-21), statements often made by anthropologists, overshoot the mark enormously. If there are purely spatial conglomerations of cultural elements—and we have seen and shall see that there are many—then the addition, subtraction or modification of one or more elements may not, and often does not, change anything in the rest of the array.

the heart, lungs, head, or any other vital part of a biological organism cannot be removed without impairing the organism itself, nor can these organs be made to function outside of their organism as they functioned in it.<sup>20</sup>

Let us now pass on to more complex examples. Can we take, for instance, the stock-market system of Wall Street from the modern capitalistic type of economic organization and transpose it to the society of the Trobriand Islands? The answer is that as soon as this is done, the capitalistic system of economy here fails to function normally for lack of the stock market, while among the Trobrianders, Wall Street has no chance to exist or survive in the form in which it exists in the United States. This means that the stock market is essentially a functional part of the American economic system. Suppose we should take the parliamentary regime in its English form, together with the principle of contractual relations and of the equality of all citizens before the law, and the other democratic tenets of Victorian England, and "graft" them onto the Hindu caste-society. The results would be similar. The democratic politico-juridical complex can hardly be grafted on the caste-society tree and yet retain the same form it had; it would either die or be changed enormously. On the other hand, the remainder of the Victorian democratic socio-political system could hardly function as it did, lacking the aid of the severed parts of the complex. As a matter of fact, even in Continental European societies, where the configuration of cultural elements differs from that of England (though by less than does the Hindu), the parliamentary system has never functioned in the way in which it does in England. One has only to glance at the history of parliamentarism in Germany, Austria, Russia, or Italy to perceive the difference. The Gothic cathedral transplanted to the South Sea

<sup>20</sup> It is to be noted that in a unified mechanical system, like a machine, where one part may be replaced by another, for instance, one bolt by another, the replacement must be *identical* in form with the replaced part. If it deviates essentially it cannot be a substitute. In organic, psycho-social or functional cultural systems even such a replacement is ordinarily impossible, or extremely difficult; while in a purely spatial or even externally related combination the exchange of one part for another is ordinarily easy when the new part is very different from the old.

Islands would be an isolated monster there, devoid of its meaning as well as of its functions, though it was a necessary part of the medieval culture of the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. The full evening dress of our society would seem grotesque to a native of the Fiji Islands, and if introduced there, would lose its meaning and change its functions. The Civil Code of Napoleon or the English Common Law system could, of course, be imposed upon Chinese, Hindu or Siamese society, but the result would be a profound transformation of the meaning and functions of these systems or their failure, or, as in the case of the Fiji Islanders, the destruction of the native population.

In brief, complexes which represent a functional integration are always present in the totality of the traits, patterns, objects, and values of any culture area. A deep change in, or the disappearance of, one of the important components tends to modify the rest of the complex, while the component parts, if transplanted into a different configuration, either do not survive, are profoundly changed, or destroy the complex to which they are added.

There is no need to stress the fact that the degree of functional unity or functional interdependence is everywhere different. It fluctuates from unity to unity; in some cases it is exceedingly close, in others looser, until finally it passes imperceptibly into either a mere external unity or even a mere spatial adjacency.

In sociology and other social sciences there is a multitude of theories which attempt to describe and interpret culture generally along the lines of functional unity. Theories which try to "explain" all or the majority of the characteristics of a culture as "functions," "superstructures," or "effects" of a specific variable (whether it be modes of production, technique and invention, religion, morals, art and science, or philosophy and forms of government), assume the existence of a causal-functional integration between the parts. In other words their promulgators appear to be partisans of the view of the functional unity of all culture ele-

ments.<sup>21</sup> Thus, when Karl Marx and other supporters of the economic interpretation of history attempt to explain all of culture as a mere superstructure of the economic factor, which changes as the economic situation changes, they assume that culture is a functional unity in which all the parts are hung upon the arc of economics, live one life with it, and change when it changes: property relations, social and political organization, art, religion, science, law, morals, and the whole class of ideologies.<sup>22</sup> This is true of any other "main factor" theory,<sup>23</sup> whether religious, scientific, or otherwise. Like Marxism, it also assumes that culture is a functional unity and that, as soon as one discovers the leading factor through the study of its nature and changes, one is capable of understanding the entire culture and of forecasting the changes and fluctuations in any of its compartments. More than this, almost all of the contemporary social scientists assume that culture is a functional unity. Through experiments, through statistical correlations, through observation, through the comparative historical method, through "case studies," and through all the other possible methods, approaches, and techniques, they have been busy hunting for the causal-functional relationships, uniformities and laws which supposedly exist between two or more culture variables. If sometimes, to their regret, they do not find a high coefficient of correlation or some other patented guarantee of the existence of a functional relationship between various elements of culture, this means for most of them only that they started from a wrong end. It does not shake in any way their strong belief in the soundness of their theory.

In view of the virtual unanimity of opinion it is unnecessary to insist upon the existence of causal-functional integration as a form *sui generis*, but the application of the theory is to be somewhat modified. Not all

<sup>21</sup> See the treatment of these ideas in my *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, especially the chapters devoted to the Sociologistic and Psychological Schools. As a matter of fact, the problem of the integration of culture, which some of the anthropologists have considered as only recently raised, has been since time immemorial one of the central problems of social science generally and sociology particularly.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. x.

<sup>23</sup> For all these theories see *ibid.*, *passim*.



the components of any culture are linked together causally. In any culture there are spatial and external unities where no causal association in the narrow sense can be found. And in many cultural complexes there are "logico-meaningful" unities, different from the causal-functional. Therefore it is fallacious to assume, as many causalists do, that every conglomeration of cultural objects is a functional unity and that there must be a functional connection between all of its components. Such an exaggerated belief in causal-functional integration is unwarranted and calls for sharp limitation.

Let us now turn from these considerations to the fourth form of integration with which we are to deal.

*Logico-Meaningful Integration of Culture.* Many integrators have also failed to see that above functional integration proper there is a form of association quite different from it, and more different still from the spatial and external types of unification. For lack of a better term, I style this the Logico-Meaningful Integration of Culture. This is integration in its supreme form. Of what does it consist? What are its qualities? Suppose we have before us the scattered pages of a great poem or of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* or fragments of the statue of Venus of Milo or the scattered pages of the score of Beethoven's "Third Symphony." If we know the proper patterns of meaning and value, we can put these pages or parts together into a significant unity in which all together give the supremely integrated effect that was intended. I say "supremely integrated" because in such instances each part, when set in its designated position, is no longer noticeable as a part, but all the parts together form, as it were, a seamless garment. Their unification is far closer than that of mere functional association. The connection is similar in nature to that between the premises, "All human beings are mortal," "Socrates is a human being," and the conclusion, "ergo, Socrates is mortal." Is this connection functional? Hardly; unless we broaden the significance of "functional" to such an extent that it loses distinct meaning altogether. To say that the chapters of Kant's *Critique*, or the head and the torso of Venus of Milo, or the

beginning and the end of the first movement of Mozart's "Concerto in D Minor," or the foundation, flying buttresses, towers and sculpture of the Cathedral of Chartres, or the first and the second parts of the *Iliad*—to say that the connection between these is functional or causal is to say something almost silly and, at the same time, to omit the higher nature of their unity.

Operationally, to use Professor Bridgemen's term, the procedure involved in this sort of integration is not unlike that of putting into logical order the numerous meaningless fragments of a jig-saw puzzle. The person attempting the solution has before him many variform pieces: triangles, squares, and others of strange and fanciful design all mixed together without significance. His task consists in putting them together in such a way as to make a meaningful unity—a dog, a cow, a castle, a man, a landscape, or some other comprehensible whole. The fitting together of these fragments is not an integration by mere spatial adjacency; they were already adjacent when they lay in a heap on the table. Nor is it an integration through some external factor; one could hang the fragments on a single thread, or put them into a box, or glue them upon a sheet of paper, or integrate them externally in many different ways. The result would still be a senseless conglomeration. Nor is the procedure of putting them together functional or causal. One could proceed as much as one liked according to the inductive method of observing identity or difference or concomitant changes, and still, as long as one failed to seek and find the unifying meaning, one would not arrive at the solution. As a matter of fact, no functional method is useful here. There is, strictly speaking, neither cause nor effect, neither variable nor function. None of the parts rules the others, causally or functionally. The whole apparatus of the causal-functional procedure is simply inapplicable to the problem.

What must be used are the logical laws of identity, contradiction, and consistency. It is these laws of logic which must be employed to discover whether any synthesis is or is not *logico-meaningful*. Side by side with such logical laws, in the narrow sense, the broader principles of

"keeping," and of internal consistency must also be used to determine the existence of this higher unity, or the lack of it. These are the principles expressed in the terms "consistent style," "consistent and harmonious whole," in contradistinction to "inconsistent mingling of styles," "hodge-podge," "clashing" patterns or forms, and they apply especially to the examination of artistic creation.<sup>24</sup> Many such superlative unities cannot be described in analytical verbal terms; they are only felt as such. But this in no way makes their unity questionable. One cannot prove by mere words—no matter what they are—the inner consistency and supreme integration of the Cathedral of Chartres or the "Gregorian Chant" or the musical compositions of Bach or Mozart or Beethoven or the tragedies of Shakespeare or the sculpture of Phidias, or the pictures of Dürer, Raphael, or Rembrandt, or many other logico-meaningful unities. Although incompletely describable in terms of language, their supreme unity is felt by competent persons as certainly as if they could be analyzed with mathematical or logical exactness.

All such unities are designated here by the term *logico-meaningful*, though many are not logical unities in the formal sense of the word logic.

A few concrete illustrations will make still clearer the nature of this sort of integration. Suppose we find side by side in some cultural conglomeration a highly developed ascetic-monastic life and a materialistic-sensate philosophy. At once we feel that the two are inconsistent;

<sup>24</sup> If the psychologists would say that such a sense or feeling of consistency and unity is a mere matter of association and the routine of perception, or is nothing but a conditioned response, my answer is simple: In most cases it is not such a simple phenomenon, but, granting for a moment that it is so, there still remains the fact that some creations like those of Phidias, or Bach, or Dante, or Homer have been felt for numbers of generations as "consistent unities," or "consistent associations," while millions of other sculptures, musical compositions or poems have never been considered so faultlessly unified but have been sensed as styleless, senseless, discordant, disjointed concoctions of forms, colors, words, or sounds. The difference between these two classes of "associations" still remains. Some associations are sensed as supreme unities, others as concoctions. Some chains of reasoning are "felt" as logical, others as inconsistent. This is what is important for my purposes. For the rest, I leave it to whosoever will to amuse himself "associationally," "reflexologically," "physiologically," "endocrinologically," "psycho-analytically," and in any other way he pleases, according to his sense or nonsense.

they do not belong together; they do not make any sense; their combination is not integrated in a logico-meaningful unity. This conclusion will remain valid no matter how frequently such a coexistence of these two variables is found. Asceticism and a purely idealistic philosophy of life on the contrary, do belong to one another logically. If we find together in a given cultural area the strictest caste system and the equalitarian ideology shared by all castes, it once again becomes evident that we are faced with inconsistency. These opposing elements, though they may form a spatial or some other form of congeries, cannot be integrated into a logico-meaningful unity. The case of the city, mentioned previously, with its conglomeration of Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque and "box" types, is a further example of inconsistency, illustrating the lack of the logical integration of architectural styles in a single area. Only if it is known that the planners of the city intended the styles to be as diverse as possible and so arranged them according to a definite principle of variety and diversity, only in such a case could the area in question pretend to some degree of logico-meaningful integration of low order. When in a house fitted with gas and electric appliances for boiling water one finds, say, a Russian *samovar* regularly used for that purpose, the logical incompatibility of the two elements of the configuration is evident. A society of multi-millionaires who are simultaneously sincere partisans of the sacred right of private property and of the Communist creed exhibits an utter lack of logico-meaningful integration of economic-cultural ideals. If we have a culture complex in which the main ethical mentality is hedonistic, while its influential literature is Holy Scripture and the Lives of the Saints, or vice versa, if we have a sexualistic literature predominant in a culture permeated with otherworldly, ascetic ideals and an absolutistic morality, we are once again confronted with the lack of logical integration.

So much, then, in a preliminary way, for the nature of logico-meaningful integration. In the next paper we shall go a little further in its analysis by comparing it directly with the causal-functional type of association of cultural elements.

# The Rural Community in the United States as an Elementary Group

*Dwight Sanderson*

NEXT TO the family, the locality group is one of the most obvious elementary forms of social organization.<sup>1</sup> The village community has had many forms,<sup>2</sup> varying from a kinship group in a small hamlet to a place of several thousand persons where kinship no longer dominates. In all cases the village community consists of agriculturists living in a village and their interspersed land holdings. This village community has a definite boundary. It was primarily an economic group, but also became a political unit. In the United States the earliest colonies in New England and New York were of the village-community type, but most later settlements were made as dispersed farmsteads, with the villages growing up as business and social centers. A similar type of settlement has occurred in other new countries where land was cheap and there was reasonable security for the settlers. Under such conditions of dispersed settlement there was no rural community and what social organization there was centered in the open-country rural neighborhood, which was often a kinship settlement, or in the families of an open-country church or school. As villages grew, roads became better, and commercial rather than subsistence agriculture developed and necessitated marketing farm products, contacts of the farm people with the villages increased, and rural neighborhood life declined. The

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was read at the 12th Congr s de l'Institut International de Sociologie, Brussels, Aug. 26, 1935.

<sup>2</sup> The various types of locality groups have been well summarized by Professor Albert Demangeon, "La Geographie de l'habitat rural," *Annales de geographie*, XXXVI (1927), 1-23, 97-114, and have been described in my book *The Rural Community* (Boston, 1932).

village became the center not only of the economic but also the social life of the farm families within its radius of influence.

By mapping the areas within which farm families patronized a given village center for various purposes, such as purchase of household supplies, marketing farm products, attending church or school, use of the library, or the services of a physician, Dr. C. J. Galpin<sup>3</sup> was able to show that a composite area might be delimited. Such an area he termed the "rurban community," consisting of the village business and social center and the area within which most of the farm families used this center for most of their social and economic activities. Subsequent studies<sup>4</sup> of other areas have shown that this type of organization is fairly typical of most of the northeastern United States, and that its development has been accelerated by automobiles and good roads. In many parts of the South and West, rural social organization is still largely in the neighborhood stage, although the same type of rural community as described by Galpin is developing. It is evident that this type of rural community, which I have termed the *modern rural community*, does not have the precise boundaries of the village community, as it has no political or economic entity.

Without attempting any further analysis of this new type of rural community, which has been done at length in the works cited, the essential description of the concept of this group type may be summarized in the definition: "A rural community consists of the social interaction of the people and their institutions in a local area in which they live on dispersed farmsteads and in a hamlet or village which forms the center of their common activities."<sup>5</sup> It might be added that such a rural community is delimited by a line within which there is more interaction between the residents in their common village center than with those outside this boundary.

<sup>3</sup> C. J. Galpin, "The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community," *Research Bulletin No. 34*, University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, Madison, 1915.

<sup>4</sup> See bibliography in my *The Rural Community*, p. 492, and in my "Rural Social and Economic Areas in Central New York," *Bulletin No. 641*, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, 1934.

<sup>5</sup> *The Rural Community*, p. 481.

That there are definite socio-economic areas tributary to the village centers has been definitely shown by numerous studies. The question arises, however, whether these are merely areas of human geography or whether there is a sufficient interaction between the inhabitants of these areas to warrant calling them rural communities in the sense of being sociological groups. Does their geographical contiguity and interaction at the village center result in a pattern of collective behavior such as we attribute to a group, or is there merely an overlapping of various groups within a common area? Evidently, this is partly a matter of definition and partly a matter of fact.

In *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*<sup>6</sup> Dr. Sorokin has distinguished two main types of social structure, the elementary and cumulative groups. Elementary groups are those with but one bond of association, and are termed functional associations. Cumulative groups have two or more bonds of association, and are of various degrees of complexity, depending upon the number of these ties. Professor Sorokin lists some fourteen ties or bonds which have been most important in such cumulative groups, but it should be noted that he mentions those which have been characteristic of the village community, some of which are not necessarily applicable to contemporary conditions in the United States. He cites "the many ancient rural groups which kept their clan organization when they settled on the land," as typical of the cumulative group. The functional association "is represented by the contemporary farm population in many regions of the United States of America and in some other countries." He then shows how very many of the bonds which were characteristic of the ancient village community have disappeared. By means of ingenious diagrams he shows that American farmers belong to various associations or interest groups which may overlap, but there is no cumulative community among them, because they do not all belong to the same groups. He concludes:

<sup>6</sup> Pitirim A. Sorokin, Carle C. Zimmerman, and Charles J. Galpin, *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology* (Minneapolis, 1930), I, chap. vi, "Differentiation of the Rural Population into Cumulative Communities and Functional Associations."

In spite of some disagreement (perhaps mostly in terminology) in the conclusions of American investigators in the field, practically all of the studies give very clear evidence either of the non-existence or the very slight existence only of rural cumulative groups (in the above meaning of the phrase) in the rural population studied.<sup>7</sup>

Referring to the original study by Dr. Galpin, which he misinterprets with regard to those dwelling outside the village centers, he says:

Such grouping in itself is an indication of a rather special but not a cumulative type. Furthermore, his maps of various groupings of the population along the trade, banking, school, church, and other centers do not coincide with one another, or coincide only to a slight extent. This indicates that, even in the sense of the "rurban areas," the groupings of the farm population are cumulative only to some degree and are divergent or special to a considerable degree.<sup>8</sup>

This would imply that if it could be shown that there is a considerable coincidence of these area boundaries, the area which they have in common might be considered as a cumulative community.

It is, of course, quite obvious that any type of rural community with dispersed farmsteads could not have the geographical unity of the village community, which had definite economic and political boundaries, and that many of the bonds which characterized the village community, such as that of common land, would necessarily be absent. It should be noted, however, that new bonds, such as the school, marketing organizations, and recreation may arise. Any type of cumulative community with dispersed farmsteads would necessarily be radically different from the village community in its structure and in the ties or bonds that might make it a true group. It is evident from the statements of Dr. Sorokin that the question of whether or not such a community might be considered as cumulative is one of degree, for it would be practically impossible for it to have the assumed unity of the ancient village community. The question is whether within a certain area the farm and village families have more common association than with various groups outside this area. Had Professor Sorokin diagrammed the facts mapped by Dr. Galpin and others to illustrate the areas of common association,

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 329.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 329.



rather than attempting to show that they did not all have the same bonds of association as assumed for the village community,<sup>9</sup> he would have found that within a certain area the common association was predominant.

However, it is true that in most of the studies which have mapped the rural socio-economic areas in the United States there was little quantitative evidence of the extent to which the families within the common area actually associated more at the village center than elsewhere. In order to obtain the facts concerning the degree of common association at the village centers, studies have been made of several counties in central New York<sup>10</sup> in which the place at which each farm family secured a specified list of social and economic services was ascertained from the families. The replies were then mapped and statistically analyzed to determine what proportion patronized the local village. A definite technique was developed for delimiting the area within which a majority of the farm families obtained most of the more common services at the local village, and for determining the percentage of these services which all of the farm families within this area obtained at the village center or elsewhere. Such centers were termed primary centers, and the areas so determined were called primary areas. It has been shown that the proportion of all the farm families in a primary area, which obtain most of their services from the primary center varies with the population of the village center. For villages of from 50 to 249 inhabitants, only 27 per cent of all services were obtained locally; for villages of 250 to 499 inhabitants, 45 per cent; for villages of over 500 inhabitants, from 60 to 65 per cent of all services were obtained at the local village; and in the areas of larger towns and cities, the percentages rose to 70 and 80 respectively. This was based on a study of

<sup>9</sup> In this connection it should be noted that the entire unity of association within the village community is an assumption to which there are numerous exceptions. Thus caste divides the village communities of India, and in many cases village communities are divided into geographically distinct sib groupings, *septs*, *khels*, the *calpolli-barrio* of Mexican villages, etc.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Dwight Sanderson, "Rural Social and Economic Areas in Central New York," *Bulletin No. 614*, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, 1934.

121 primary areas in four counties, involving 5,132 farm families, so that the sample is adequate for the territory studied. The above percentages are for all services, wherever obtained. Many of these services did not exist at the smaller village centers and the inhabitants of their primary areas were forced to go to larger centers to obtain them, this being particularly true of economic services, such as banking and the purchase of good clothing, but also being true of social services, such as high schools. When the percentages of services obtained locally were restricted to those which might be obtained at the local village centers, then for all village primary areas the percentage was 64, rising to 72 for the villages of from 1,000 to 2,499 inhabitants. The percentages were higher for the social than for the economic services.

Time does not permit any further statement of the details of this study, but it is believed that it establishes the following conclusion:

Within the areas thus defined the open-country families associate at the area center more than at any other place and obtain the majority of the services furnished by social and economic institutions. For this reason such areas are commonly called rural communities; they are areas of interrelated common interests.<sup>11</sup>

It should also be observed that increasingly rural people in many parts of the United States have themselves recognized this common association within the area tributary to a village center, and have various forms of community associations, quite apart from any political areas. In the organization of central rural school districts this principle of the rural community area has been used for defining the boundaries of these units of local public school administration.

It is certain that there is no one type of rural community which is characteristic of the United States as a whole. Indeed, it is quite evident from our data that there are definite functional differences in the village center of the rural community which vary with its population and the specialization of services which it affords. However, the general pattern of relationships is similar, whatever the size of the village center. The

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* p. 90.

degree of association within the community area varies widely, and the mere measurement of the quantity of association gives us no more indication of the solidarity of the rural community than of any other group.

The boundaries of this type of rural community are only approximate and will change, in time, according to the attractiveness of the various forms of association at the village center. With the general use of the automobile, the present trend is toward the weakening of the smaller community centers and their gradual absorption into the community areas of larger villages, in which they will form definite rural neighborhoods. The larger rural community inevitably becomes less personal and is more largely a composite of its various functional associations, but the institutions which are common to most of the people within its area give it a type of common behavior characteristic of a group, however defined. The difference of occupation between farmers and villagers does not prevent their having many common interests and forms of association. The increasing number of non-farm families living in the open country, especially where these families are employed in towns or cities, undoubtedly weakens the solidarity of the rural community, but our studies go to show that they are gradually assimilated into the local community life and that they have more associations there than elsewhere.<sup>12</sup>

In some parts of the United States, the rural community as defined is already recognized as the basis of rural social organization. In far more places it is still in the process of becoming, but in view of the comparatively recent settlement this is to be expected, for the definite development of the rural community as such depends upon the gradual recognition by its people of their common interests.

Types of rural communities change with the techniques of agriculture and with the environmental conditions, but some form of rural community seems essential for any permanent social organization of rural

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Leland B. Tate, "Rural Homes for City Workers," *Bulletin No. 595*, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, 1934.

life, and must, therefore, be regarded as an elementary form of rural social life. The vocation of agriculture necessarily attaches farmers to the land and for success requires a relatively permanent residence which makes inevitable an acquaintance and the development of common interests within a local area. In all localities there are certain features of the physical environment which, to a greater or less extent, limit the areas within which human association is frequent and intimate. The rural community is still bound together for purposes of defense, not from military attack, but for maintaining its economic interests against those of the city market, and to give it a satisfying social life which may compete with the lure of the city. The division of labor incident to advances in material culture gives rise to certain services desired by farmers which may be profitably maintained only at the centers of areas which can afford a sufficient volume of patronage, and which thereby create areas of common association. The desire of people for sociability also forms a bond of the rural community, for, even with automobiles, association is easiest and therefore most frequent at the community center and people tend to associate with those with whom they are best acquainted in the local areas. The modern community house is a new social center which takes the place of the men's house of the primitive village. For these reasons the rural community is the most important group for social control. Most rural people are more susceptible to the public opinion of their own community than to that of the outside world, and even though social control is largely through voluntary associations, these associations react to other associations and groups within the community and find that the common welfare commands a community loyalty superior to that for any special interest group. Thus the rural community is the area within which the common interests of the daily life of its people may find expression in institutions and associations which tend to center at the village where they are most accessible. So long as agriculture is a family occupation and is not organized as a strictly factory system, it seems probable that some form of rural community will be the inevitable basis of rural social organization. The type which has been described for the United States is evolving to meet

the conditions of rural life in a rapidly changing environment. The determination of the type of rural community structure which, with due consideration to existing and historical conditions, will be most satisfactory for rural social organization forms one of the major problems of rural reconstruction facing many countries today.

# Rural Young People Face Their Own Situation

*E. L. Kirkpatrick and Agnes M. Boynton*

MUCH IS SAID today about surplus crop production and the millions of acres of submarginal farm land not needed for agriculture. Naturally, these problems are very real, but a much more important one from the standpoint of the nation is the necessity of finding economic opportunities and social advantages for young men and women. Those who live in rural areas are unable to secure good farms and are thwarted on nearly every side when they attempt to find alternative avenues in which to pour their energies and ambitions.

What can be done to improve their situation? What is known about these rural young people? Where do they live? What are they doing? How much schooling have they had? What choices of occupations do they have? To what extent does farming appeal to them? How are they using their spare time? To what degree do they sense needs in the home community? And what opportunities do they see to improve local conditions?

To answer these and similar questions, a survey was planned and recently carried out in Waushara County, Wisconsin, under the direction of a local committee representing three educational agencies together with the young people themselves. A total of 2,123 schedules were filled out by rural young people between the ages of 15 and 29, two-thirds of whom reside on farms, the rest living in villages of less than 2,500 population.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The first lot of schedules (250) was obtained by rural school teachers. The others were gathered in a house-to-house canvass by local workers selected from the relief rolls.

## CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RURAL YOUNG PEOPLE

At least a partial answer to the question of what is known about these young people is evident from an analysis of certain population characteristics. Among them are age composition, marital status, nationality patterns, and educational attainment.

The study revealed that relatively more of the young people are in the lower age groups; the proportions of the total range from 11 per cent at 15 years to three per cent at 29. By five-year periods, slightly less than one-half of them are between 15 and 19 years of age; 31 per cent are 20-24; and 19.5 per cent are 25-29. Males are slightly older than females, or at any rate, more of the latter are in the younger classification.

Only one-fifth of all these young persons are married, the proportion being almost twice as high for females as for males and slightly higher for villagers than for farmers. As would be expected, the marriage-rate increases with advancing age. Of the 440 who are married, approximately three-fourths have children, the average number reported by them being 1.6; 1.7 for the farm, and 1.5 for the village group.

The nationality of these young people is of interest. The nearest approach to identity is found in the answers to the question, "What languages, other than English, are spoken in your family?" For 800 responses which are regarded as representative of the whole, German is prevalent in 58 per cent of the homes; Polish, Italian, Norwegian, Danish, Welsh, Swedish, and Finnish are used less frequently, the proportions varying from 17 per cent down to less than one per cent of the total.

Of these rural young people, approximately one-fourth are in schools. This number includes more than 50 per cent of the total 15-19 years

Approximately 66 per cent of the total farm and 72 per cent of the village youth (based on the 1930 census) were reached. The information was tabulated by the local workers who had taken the schedules, under the direction of the Department of Rural Sociology, Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station. Other young people's studies using a similar schedule were carried on in Douglas and Wood counties, and more limited investigations were made in Taylor and Dodge counties, and Mt. Hope and Lancaster communities, Grant County, Wisconsin.

of age, less than two per cent of those 20-24, and none of those aged 25-29 (Table I). Larger proportions of the villagers than farmers attend. Among the farm young people, girls go to school more frequently than boys. For the entire group, almost one-third have had four years of high school, the proportion being more than twice as high in the village as on the farm. In the latter group twice as many girls as boys finish, while in the village only slightly more girls than boys complete high school. Less than five per cent of all the young people are attending or have attended a university or college, including teachers' colleges.

Since almost 75 per cent of the young people are not in school at the present time, replies to the question, "If out of school, check reasons for not going further," are important. They indicate that 35 per cent of those who responded are "not financially able," 27 per cent are "needed at home," 25 per cent have "no desire to go," 15 per cent "secured a job," and eight per cent "got married." Farm residents designated financial reasons and "got married" less frequently than did villagers, but the reverse is true with respect to "needed at home" and "no desire to go." Among farm boys and girls, fewer of the latter are needed at home, more "got married," and about the same proportion indicate lack of finances, no desire, or securing a job as reasons for not going further. In the village, more of the boys are financially handicapped or have no desire to go, while appreciably more of the girls got married.

#### ECONOMIC AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Two-thirds of the young people who live on farms, and a slightly smaller proportion of those who reside in villages, belong to families who own their homes. Since proportionately more of the younger persons are members of such families, it is probable that the older age groups contain more young married couples who have not been able to attain the status of ownership.

The proportion of financially independent young people is noticeably higher among males than females. Among the young people from the



TABLE I  
EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF RURAL YOUNG PEOPLE, 15-29  
Waushara County, Wisconsin

	FARM AND VILLAGE						FARM						VILLAGE					
	Total			Male			Female			Total			Male			Total		
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Grade in School.....	2105	100.0	1164	100.0	941	100.0	1361	100.0	764	100.0	597	100.0	744	100.0	400	100.0	344	100.0
Total Number of Replies.....																		
First.....	1	.1	1	.1	1	.1	1	.1	1	.1	1	.1	1	.1	1	.1	1	.1
Second.....	2	.1	1	.1	2	.2	2	.1	1	.1	2	.3	1	.1	1	.1	1	.1
Third.....	5	.2	2	.1	4	.4	4	.3	1	.1	3	.5	1	.1	1	.1	1	.3
Fourth.....	11	.5	6	.5	5	.5	9	.7	5	.7	4	.7	2	.3	1	.3	1	.3
Fifth.....	9	.3	8	.7	1	.1	11	.7	6	.8	1	.2	2	.3	2	.5	1	.3
Sixth.....	47	3.1	35	3.0	12	1.3	32	2.4	22	2.9	10	1.7	15	2.0	13	3.2	2	.6
Seventh.....	122	5.7	87	7.5	35	3.7	102	7.5	69	9.0	33	5.5	20	2.7	18	4.5	2	.6
Eighth.....	645	30.5	392	33.7	253	26.9	547	40.1	335	43.9	212	35.5	98	13.2	57	14.2	41	11.9
First Year H. S.....	161	7.5	94	8.1	67	7.1	110	8.1	63	8.2	47	7.9	51	6.8	31	7.7	20	5.8
Second Year H. S.....	200	9.4	122	10.5	78	8.3	118	8.7	70	9.2	48	8.0	82	11.0	52	13.0	30	8.7
Third Year H. S.....	213	10.0	108	9.3	105	11.2	109	8.0	59	7.7	50	8.4	104	14.0	49	12.3	55	16.0
Fourth Year H. S.....	689	32.6	310	26.5	379	40.3	320	23.5	133	17.4	187	31.3	369	49.6	177	44.3	192	55.8
County Normal.....	131	6.2	28	2.4	103	10.9	74	5.4	15	2.0	59	10.0	57	7.7	13	3.3	44	12.8
Teachers College.....	60	2.9	20	1.7	40	4.3	18	1.3	5	.7	13	2.2	42	5.6	15	3.8	27	7.8
Vocational.....	44	2.1	29	2.5	15	1.6	21	1.5	13	1.7	8	1.3	23	3.1	16	4.0	7	2.0
College or University.....	39	1.9	24	2.1	15	1.6	8	.6	5	.7	3	.5	31	4.2	19	4.8	12	3.5
Business College.....	38	1.8	12	1.0	26	2.8	19	1.4	6	.8	13	2.2	19	2.6	6	1.5	13	3.8
Short Course Ag.....	6	.3	5	.4	1	.1	5	.4	5	.7	1	.1	1	.1	1	.1	1	.3
Miscellaneous.....	22	1.0	10	.9	12	1.3	10	.7	3	.4	7	1.2	12	1.6	7	1.8	5	1.5

At the time of the survey 25.9 per cent of the total number of young people were attending school; 22.1 per cent of those on the farm and 32.8 per cent of those in the village. By sex and residence classifications 19.0 per cent of farm boys, 31.6 per cent of village boys, 25.9 per cent of farm girls, and 34.2 per cent of village girls aged 15-29 years, were attending school.

farm, the proportion increases with advancing age from 15.5 per cent at 15-19 years to 65 per cent at 25-29; among young people from the villages the corresponding increase was from nine to 52 per cent. Twice as many boys as girls are employed, and persons in the oldest group (25-29) are employed twice as often as those in the youngest group (15-19).

Approximately one-fifth of the total gave their occupations, of whom 25 per cent are farm workers, 16 per cent teachers, 12 per cent clerical workers, nine per cent houseworkers, five per cent laborers, five per cent truckers, and the remainder are holding jobs of many varieties. Proportionately more villagers than farmers are doing clerical work, common labor, and garage work. With respect to previous occupation, two-fifths of the informants have followed farming; one-sixth housework; six per cent each, laborer, clerk, and truck driver; five per cent each, teacher and clerical worker; four per cent trucker and garage men; three per cent quarrier; and 26 per cent other unclassified occupations. Village young people had worked as laborers, clerks, teachers, clerics, and quarrymen more frequently than had those living on farms.

Out of fifteen hundred of the young people who report working at home, less than 10 per cent receive wages, the proportion being two times as high for males as females. On farms, those receiving wages for employment at home increases from five per cent for the 15-19 age group to 17.5 per cent for the 25-29 age group.

Of those having no jobs, more than half state they were "unable to find work," two-fifths "still in school," and one-tenth "needed at home," (Table II). The proportion of the total number unable to find work increases noticeably with advancing age from 40 per cent at 15-19 to 90 per cent at 25-29 years for farm, and from 22 to 67 per cent for village residents of corresponding ages.

During the last three years much emphasis has been placed on overcoming the unemployment situation by furnishing temporary work opportunities at public expense. However, only one in four of the

TABLE II

REASONS FOR UNEMPLOYMENT OF RURAL YOUNG PEOPLE, 15-29  
Waushara County, Wisconsin

<i>Reason</i>	<i>Farm and Village</i>		<i>Farm</i>		<i>Village</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Pct.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Pct.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Pct.</i>
Total number of replies.....	1407	....	902	....	505	....
Unable to find work.....	741	52.7	518	57.4	223	44.2
Still in school.....	522	37.1	289	32.0	233	46.1
Needed at home.....	138	9.8	87	9.6	51	10.1
Physically unable.....	21	1.5	17	1.7	4	.8
Total replies from males.....	753	....	486	....	267	....
Unable to find work.....	474	62.9	322	66.3	152	56.9
Still in school.....	254	33.7	138	28.4	116	43.4
Needed at home.....	28	3.7	26	5.3	2	.7
Physically unable.....	7	.9	6	1.2	1	.4
Total replies from females.....	654	....	416	....	238	....
Unable to find work.....	267	40.8	196	47.1	71	29.8
Still in school.....	268	41.0	151	36.3	117	49.2
Needed at home.....	110	16.8	61	14.7	49	20.6
Physically unable.....	14	2.1	11	2.6	3	1.3

1,745 who responded to the question concerning such employment have had work with the Civil Works Administration or the Federal and State Work Relief Programs. The percentage for males is markedly higher than that for females, and likewise higher for the oldest than the youngest age group. Villagers held these Relief jobs a little more frequently than did farmers.

Three-fourths of the young people estimated the amount of money they earned last year. It amounted to an average of \$101 per person, with villagers earning more than farmers. The average amount rises from \$29 at 15-19 years to \$220 at 25-29 years of age. In the youngest and oldest groups, farm boys earn more than girls and for the 20-24 year group the earnings are about the same. Because earnings are limited, and because some of the young people are not earning at all, one-half of all of them depend on their parents for spending money;

the proportion doing so is slightly lower for males than for females, but higher for farm than for village youths.

Less than three in ten of the entire group carry life insurance, the proportion being noticeably higher for males than females. It increases with age from 14 per cent at 15-19 years to 30 per cent at 25-29 for farm, and from 31 per cent at 15-19 to 48 per cent at 25-29 for village residents.

### FAMILY LIVING FACILITIES

The informants were asked to report on the important family living equipment and facilities which they have in their homes. They listed or checked those items most commonly included under modern home conveniences, communication facilities, musical equipment, and reading materials.

Two in five of all the homes are equipped with electric lights, one in six with furnaces, and one in ten with piped-in water. Proportionately more of the village than of the farm households have these conveniences and the difference is particularly marked in the case of electric lights. One in three homes has at least one electrical appliance, and this proportion is five times as high for village as for farm residents.

More than four in five of the young people have access to an automobile, one in four to a telephone, and three in five to a radio. Automobiles are available more frequently on farms than in the village, but the reverse is true of radios. Phonographs and pianos are found in more than two in five of the homes and organs in only one in five. Villagers have pianos more frequently than farm people, but the opposite is true for phonographs and organs.

### USE OF LEISURE

Leisure time is spent in various ways by these young people. Nine in ten of the entire group read newspapers, the proportion doing so being the same for both sexes. Next in rank among the activities reported are reading magazines and books, going to movies, listening

to radio programs, playing cards, attending public dances, taking part in games and athletics, and going to private dances. Proportionately more girls than boys read magazines and books, go to movies, listen to radios, and attend dances; fewer play cards and attend or participate in games and athletics. More than 60 per cent of the young people go to the movies, and the times attended average 22 per person per year. Village residents go more frequently than farmers, and girls and boys go with about the same frequency regardless of whether they live on farms or in villages.

Due to the fact that much is derived from reading, it is of interest to note the type of materials chosen by rural young people. The kinds of books they prefer are classed as fiction and non-fiction, with the former having the greater appeal. Proportionately more farm than village young persons choose fiction; the reverse holds for non-fiction. General magazines lead all others, with three in five of the young people naming them. Women's magazines are next in order, followed by farm journals. Almost six in ten of the 1,500 persons who reported reading newspapers look at the "news." Two in five prefer the comics, one in five sports, and one in fifteen each, feature pages and editorials. Villagers read the different parts named slightly more frequently than farmers. Girls read the sport page less often and the features more than boys; otherwise the reading habits of the sexes are similar.

Music takes preference in "type of radio program liked best," with drama next, followed by news, sports, and lectures. Preference for all these types was checked more frequently by village than farm young people, due in part, no doubt, to the greater opportunity to listen to programs. Proportionately more girls than boys prefer music and drama in radio programs, fewer spend time listening to news and sports, and about the same proportion tune in on lectures.

In regard to hobbies, fishing and hunting are most popular with two in five enjoying or preferring each. Next in order are instrumental music, baseball, cooking, sewing, camping, basketball, vocal music, handicrafts, dramatics, drawing, collecting, public speaking, photogra-

phy, and painting. Boys enjoy fishing, hunting, baseball, basketball and camping more frequently than girls and the opposite applies to vocal and instrumental music, cooking, sewing, dramatics, drawing, collecting, photography, and painting. Compared with farm, village residents chose camping, basketball, dramatics, drawing, collecting, public speaking, and photography the more frequently.

In the field of sports and athletics, baseball appeals most, with swimming next, followed by basketball, skating, softball, tennis, football, and volley ball. Farm and village young people differ in their preferences of games and sports; proportionately less of the latter play baseball and more swim, skate, and play basketball, softball, and tennis. More farm boys than girls desire all of the sports named except skating, softball, tennis, and volley ball; this applies likewise to village young people with the additional exception of swimming.

It is often during spare time or in leisure activities that young people meet each other. The most common opportunity is "through friends," with more than nine in ten of the informants so indicating it. Next in importance is "at home" followed by "at dances," "attending church activities," "in school," and "at club meetings." Compared with farm young people, village youths have slightly better opportunity to meet others through friends, at dances, and at school, but less at church and club meetings.

#### PARTICIPATION IN ORGANIZATIONS

Organizational activities play an important role in the life of the individual and the community. It is encouraging, therefore, to know that three-fifths of all the young people reported attendance at local club meetings, including church and Sunday School services, with village young people attending slightly more than farm youths, and girls noticeably more than boys. One-fourth attend Community Club meetings (including 4-H clubs), with villagers attending less frequently than the others, and girls slightly less often than boys. Only five per cent attend school clubs, and less than two per cent fraternal group meetings; village residents attend twice as frequently as farm residents.

Nearly 50 per cent of all the young people are members of the Church or its organizations. The membership rate is slightly higher among village than among farm residents and noticeably higher among girls than boys. Almost five per cent belong to school groups, with a higher membership among villagers than farmers, and among girls than boys. One-fifth of the young people belong to Community clubs, with farmers exceeding villagers and males exceeding females. Since 4-H clubs are included in this classification, it is pertinent to consider the extent to which these young people have participated in them. To the inquiry, "Have you ever been a 4-H club member?" one-fourth responded in the affirmative. This proportion was higher for boys than for girls. The 400 who reported length of time in club work were active for an average of 2.5 years.

More than one-half of the group answered "yes" to the question, "Are there organizations in the community that have programs of interest to those of your age?" This response was noticeably higher for the farm residents but not widely different for male and female in either group.

Asked to indicate the type of program they liked best, three in five named entertainment, two in five social, one in five educational, and one in seven recreational, with farm exceeding in entertainment and social, and village in educational. Girls desire entertainment and social programs oftener than boys, but the reverse applies to recreational activities.

Those who indicated club programs as opportunity for meeting other young people listed also the names of these clubs: two in five Community Club, one in four Grange, one in seven 4-H, and one in eight Church. Proportionately more farm young people met others at Community Club, Grange, and 4-H, than did those of the village.

#### NEEDS AND DESIRES EXPRESSED BY YOUNG PEOPLE

Practically four-fifths of the informants responded to the question regarding the principal needs of young people in their home com-

munity. One-half of them specified employment, one-fourth buildings for community meetings, one-fifth each, better organizations and recreation, one-sixth advancement, one-seventh libraries, and one-tenth each, money and entertainment (Table III). Compared with farm, village residents referred less frequently to employment, advancement, money, and entertainment, but more frequently to buildings, recreation, and libraries as needs. Girls designated less often than boys the need for work and finances, but more often the need for organizations, libraries, and entertainment.

Almost 500 of the young people made suggestions for community improvement, with one in four naming coöperation, one in five each, new organization programs and more club members, one in six a place to meet, and one in seven "nothing." Compared with boys, farm girls see greater needs for new programs and places to meet. This applies to village girls and boys with respect to new programs.

Indications on a "desired occupation" check list show that 17 per cent of the young people prefer farming; 12 per cent teaching and homemaking; 11 per cent trucking; 10 per cent mechanics; nine per cent each forestry, stenography, and clerical work; seven per cent nursing; six per cent beauty culture; five per cent aviation; and less than five per cent each of all other occupations. The girls' preferences run to teaching, homemaking, stenography, clerical work, nursing, and beauty culture. The choices of young people in villages run to mechanics, stenography, forest service, clerical work, and nursing. Only a few village young people prefer to farm.

#### SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SURVEY

"Something to do" seems to be the greatest need of rural young people according to these findings. Not only work opportunities but recreation, involving community buildings and organizations, rank high among the desires which are enumerated. Entertainments such as movies, plays, socials, advancement, libraries, and music are mentioned frequently. Education, including better schools, enlarged curricula,



TABLE III

PRINCIPAL PRESENT NEEDS OF RURAL YOUNG PEOPLE, 15-29  
Waushara County, Wisconsin

	FARM AND VILLAGE						FARM						VILLAGE					
	Total			Male			Female			Total			Male			Female		
	No.		Pct.	No.		Pct.	No.		Pct.	No.		Pct.	No.		Pct.	No.		Pct.
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Classification of Needs.....	1742	.....	972	.....	770	.....	1051	.....	596	.....	455	.....	691	.....	376	.....	315	.....
Total Number of Replies.....	853	49.0	531	54.6	322	41.8	535	50.9	330	55.4	205	45.1	318	46.0	201	53.5	117	37.1
Employment.....	441	25.3	246	25.3	195	25.3	125	11.9	69	11.6	56	12.3	316	45.7	177	47.1	139	44.1
Buildings.....	373	21.4	161	16.6	212	27.5	218	20.7	92	15.4	126	27.7	155	22.4	69	18.4	86	27.3
Organization.....	326	18.7	190	19.5	136	17.7	122	11.6	64	10.7	58	12.7	204	29.5	126	33.5	78	24.8
Recreation.....	291	16.7	164	16.9	127	16.5	181	17.2	109	18.3	72	15.8	110	15.9	55	14.6	55	17.5
Advancement.....																		
Library.....	245	14.1	116	11.0	129	16.8	53	5.0	29	4.9	24	5.3	192	27.8	87	23.1	105	33.3
Money.....	196	11.2	139	14.3	57	7.4	155	14.7	109	18.3	46	10.1	41	5.9	30	8.0	11	3.5
Entertainment.....	166	9.5	68	7.0	98	12.7	114	10.8	51	8.6	63	13.8	52	7.9	17	4.5	35	11.1
Reforestation.....	86	4.9	61	6.3	25	3.2	45	4.3	29	4.9	16	3.5	41	5.9	32	8.5	9	2.9
Home.....	18	1.0	10	1.0	8	1.0	11	1.0	4	.7	7	1.5	7	1.0	6	.2	1	.8
Coöperation.....	16	.9	5	.5	11	1.4	9	.9	3	.5	6	1.3	7	1.0	2	.1	5	1.6
Miscellaneous.....	11	.6	9	.9	2	.3	6	.6	5	.8	1	.2	5	.7	1	.1	1	.3

evening classes and leadership training, are not overlooked in the comments from these young people. Other suggestions are a feeling of coöperation and interest, not only among young people themselves but also between young and old.

The results here presented are suggestive of what might come from similar studies in other communities. Although different conclusions would be expected in some respects, due to different conditions, doubtless these are typical of many rural situations. Locally the findings are being used to stimulate discussion and arouse further interest; eventually they will become the basis of definite steps toward improvement throughout the county. They may serve as suggestions for program procedures in other communities.

Even though these results are preliminary, they indicate that young people recognize their situation and are aware of certain needs in their immediate localities. They show that young men and women are actually thinking of possible developments and indicate that they are rapidly becoming more eager to work out definite programs for the realization of specific objectives.

# The Annual Rate of Departure of Rural Youths from Their Parental Homes

*C. Horace Hamilton*

THE DEPARTURE of a rural youth from his parental home is an event of considerable social significance.<sup>1</sup> As much as birth or death, it marks the end of one generation and the beginning of another. It involves the breaking up of old and the formation of new family units. It means for the youth "getting a job," "starting out for himself," the beginning of a career, individual freedom, an expanding and maturing personality, and, finally, citizenship and participation in a larger social and economic world. There is, of course, a constant stream of youths departing from their parental homes. It is a normal and more or less inevitable process, as most young people leave their parental homes before the death of their parents.

The rate at which young people leave their homes varies with certain social and economic factors such as farm income, opportunity for non-farm or urban employment, social status of the youth's parents, sex, race, education, and family composition. The purpose of this paper is twofold: (1) to describe and evaluate a method of measuring the exact rate at which young people leave their parental homes, and (2) to present some preliminary results from the application of the method to a study of 1,703 rural families in five North Carolina counties.

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## A NOTE ON METHOD

The rate at which young people permanently leave their parental homes<sup>2</sup> may be defined by the following formula:

$$R_x = \frac{d}{p} \times 100$$

in which R designates the rate of departure during a given year; x, the specific age, sex, or other group to which the formula is applied; p, the population in the given group at home at the beginning of the given year; and d, the number of those *at home* who left home during the given year.

The basic data needed for the calculation of the departure-rates are: (1) year of birth or age, and (2) year of departure or age at time of departing. If rates are desired for specific sex, color, relief, or educational groups, additional data may be collected on these points. The principal table needed for calculating the departure-rates is quite simple. It is merely a tabulation of the age and year of departure of all offspring in the families studied. Mechanical tabulation greatly facilitates the preparation of this table. Table I illustrates the form of the data as they come from the tabulation machine, with one or two columns added for clarification.

In Table I, column 5 shows the number of persons leaving home each year; whereas, column 6 shows the number at home at the beginning of each year. If sufficient data were available, reliable rates of departure could be calculated directly from tables similar to Table I; but, except in very extensive studies, this will rarely be the case. In our North Carolina study, tables such as the above were combined for a fifteen-year age group, namely, from 15 to 29 years of age at last birthday. In column 4 of Table I, the entries are for year of departure with the exception of the number 37, which indicates the persons who

<sup>2</sup> Any son or daughter who left home for any purpose and lived away from the parental home more than fifty per cent of the time, and who was away when the home was visited, is considered, for the purposes of the paper, a *departed person*. In case of two or more departures by the same person, the latest date of departure was used.

TABLE I  
MACHINE TABULATION SHEET, SHOWING DATA ON DEPARTURES OF  
WHITE MALES 22 YEARS OF AGE IN 1934.

<i>Sex Code*</i>	<i>Year-of-Birth Code*</i>	<i>Age in Year of Departure</i>	<i>Year-of-Departure Code*</i>	<i>Card Count or Frequency</i>	<i>Cumulative Frequency</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1	12	..	37†	39†	39†
1	12	22	34	8	47
1	12	21	33	7	54
1	12	20	32	6	60
1	12	19	31	2	62
1	12	18	30	4	66
1	12	17	29	1	67
1	12	16	28	3	70

\* Codes: White male=1; 1912=12; 1934=34; at home=37.

† Persons who were still at home at time of survey and who had been at home in previous years.

were still at home at the time of the survey and who had been at home in previous years. It will be noted, therefore, that in Table I, the 39 persons who were still at home are also included in denominator of the formula in each previous year, as shown in column 6. Table II, which is referred to in the following section, consists of a large number of tables similar to Table I, as will be evident by careful inspection.

#### EFFECT OF USING BROAD AGE GROUPS

The effect of using a fifteen-year age group in the calculation of reliable departure-rates was found to be negligible. Table II, for instance, shows the calculation of the annual departure-rates by years from 1915 to 1934. Columns 4 and 5 of this table give the crude and adjusted rates. Column 6 presents the *standard errors* of the crude rates.\* The adjusted rates are merely weighted averages of specific departure by single years of age, the weight being the sum of the

\* Calculated by the formula:

$$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{R(100-R)}{N}}$$

TABLE II  
NUMBER OF YOUNG PEOPLE, 15-29 YEARS OF AGE, AT HOME, AND NUMBER  
AND PERCENTAGE LEAVING HOME EACH YEAR FROM 1915 TO 1934.

Year  (1)	Number at Home on January 1 Each Year  (2)	Number Leaving Home During Each Year  (3)	Rates of Departure		Standard Errors of Crude Rates  (6)
			Crude  (4)	Adjusted*  (5)	
All Years	20,568	1685	8.2	8.2	.2
1934	1643	184	11.2	10.5	.8
1933	1604	131	8.2	7.6	.7
1932	1531	106	6.9	6.8	.6
1931	1453	92	6.3	6.3	.6
1930	1404	146	10.4	10.3	.8
1929	1313	92	7.0	6.9	.7
1928	1235	102	8.3	8.4	.8
1927	1169	89	7.6	7.7	.8
1926	1090	101	9.3	9.4	.9
1925	1031	85	8.2	8.6	.9
1924	986	102	10.3	10.9	1.0
1923	892	61	6.8	7.0	.8
1922	853	73	8.6	9.3	1.0
1921	774	49	6.3	6.5	.9
1920	747	80	10.7	10.9	1.1
1919	674	44	6.5	6.9	1.0
1918	626	51	8.1	8.0	1.1
1917	559	31	5.5	5.2	1.0
1916	509	40	7.9	8.1	1.2
1915	475	26	5.5	5.5	1.0

\* Adjusted to the average age distribution, by single years, for the twenty-year period, 1915 to 1934.

number in each one-year age group at home during the entire period. The differences between the adjusted and the crude rates, it may be observed, are much smaller than the standard errors of sampling. It may be concluded, therefore, that the adjustment for age within the 15-29 age group was unnecessary. This is a very important point. It not only saves an enormous amount of work in calculating specific and adjusted rates, but it also means that there is little systematic error or secular trend in the rates, due to a systematic error or trend in the profile

of the age distribution of the sample. The use of a broad age group, furthermore, permits a breakdown of the data by sex, color, tenure, or relief status without great loss in reliability.

### USE OF THE MOVING AVERAGE

In the breakdown of departure-rate data by sex, color, etc., standard errors of the rates for sub-groups by single years increase. That is, the variation in the rates due to "chance" or "random sampling" increases as the number of cases decreases. Since standard errors are proportional

TABLE III  
MEAN RATES OF DEPARTURE BY AGE AND SEX FOR PERIOD 1915-1934,  
SHOWING ALSO RESIDUAL POPULATION AT HOME BY AGE AND SEX.

<i>Age at Last Birthday</i>	<i>Sum of Population at Home 1915-1934</i>		<i>Sum of Departures 1915-1934</i>		<i>Rates of Departure</i>		<i>Residual Population at Home at the End of Each Year*</i>	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
13	1638	1680	6	7	.4	.4	996	996
14	1564	1603	10	27	.6	1.7	990	979
15	1467	1506	16	60	1.1	4.0	979	940
16	1378	1381	27	85	2.0	6.2	959	882
17	1287	1233	37	91	2.9	7.4	931	817
18	1192	1074	51	133	4.3	12.4	891	716
19	1067	903	77	109	7.2	12.1	827	629
20	941	749	90	106	9.6	14.2	748	540
21	793	607	96	83	12.1	13.7	657	466
22	666	493	94	62	14.1	12.6	564	407
23	529	403	77	51	14.6	12.7	482	355
24	425	326	53	40	12.5	12.3	422	311
25	345	267	49	31	14.2	11.6	362	275
26	282	216	37	18	13.1	8.2	315	252
27	223	192	26	22	11.7	11.5	278	223
28	184	155	13	11	7.1	7.1	258	207
29	157	131	24	15	15.7	11.5	217	183

\* Assuming that 1,000 young people exactly thirteen years of age left home at rates shown in columns 6 and 7.

to the square root of  $N$ , a rate calculated from a sample of one-fourth  $N$  has a standard error of only twice that of a rate calculated from the entire sample.

Nevertheless, in order to eliminate sharp random fluctuations in the annual rates, as well as errors in reporting years of departure, a weighted three-year moving average has been used, the central year being weighted with .50 as compared with .25 each for the two other years. This method of smoothing reduces the data to a useful form without destroying clearly significant cyclical fluctuations.

### APPLICATION AND RESULTS

Although the method of calculating departure-rates described above is considered sound and useful, its application is still in the experimental stage. Nevertheless, preliminary analysis of departure-rates reveals some promising lines of investigation. In the study of 1,703 North Carolina rural families, the trend of departure-rates over a period of 20 years has been analyzed by age, sex, color, and tenure and relief status of parents. Some work has also been done in studying the relationships of the business cycle and other economic factors to variations in the rate of departure. Incidentally, similar analyses are being made of the marriage-rates of the rural population and of the fecundity of married women.

### SEX DIFFERENCES IN DEPARTURE-RATES

Young women leave their rural homes approximately three years earlier in life than young men, as is shown in Table III and Chart I. In the case of young women, more leave home during their eighteenth year than at any other time, but the *rate of departure* continues to increase until the twentieth year of life. After that it gradually falls. This might be restated as follows: If a young woman remains in the home of her parents until she is twenty-one years of age, the probability of her leaving home in later years decreases. In the case of young men, however, the maximum number leave home during the twenty-first year of life, but their highest departure-rate occurs in the twenty-third



year, after which time the rate gradually declines. After twenty-one or twenty-two years of age young men leave home at a higher rate than do young women of the same age.

### RATE OF DEPARTURE AND PERCENT LEFT AT HOME

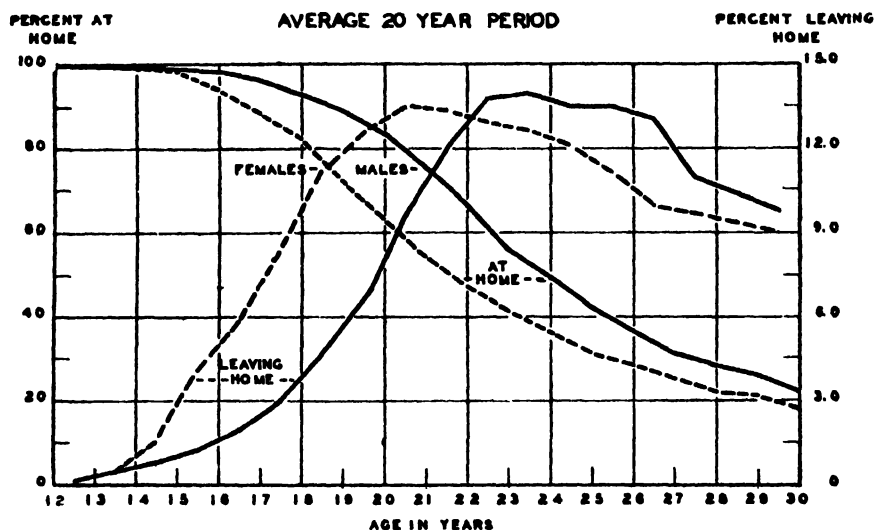


CHART I

This chart shows the normal percentages of males and females leaving home in each year of life from 12 to 30 years of age, as well as the normal population remaining at home at the end of each year of life. "Normal" in this case is based on the average departure-rates which prevailed between 1915 and 1934, during which period there was no significant secular trend.

A departure-rate experience table may be derived from the departure-rates by single years of life. If, for instance, the departure table began at exactly 13 years of age with a base population of 1,000, then at 14 years of age, according to the rates in Table III, exactly 996 young men and women would be at home. At the beginning of the fifteenth year there would be 990 boys and 979 girls; at the end of the sixteenth year, 979 boys and 940 girls; and so on. (See columns 8 and 9 of Table III.) In a cross-section analysis, a tabulation of the actual number and percentage of offspring at home may be calculated, and such ratios should closely approximate those in the departure table.

The theoretical table, however, provides from the same general data a much smoother curve. Furthermore, the percentage of offspring at home in a given year, as calculated from a cross-section study, is unduly influenced by the departure-rates during the most recent years. The theoretical departure table shows the normal or long-time picture.

In this study, the cross-section analysis of "at home" ratios by years showed fewer young people at home in each year of life than is indicated in the departure table. This differential is attributed to the high rates of departure during 1933 and particularly during 1934. This may be interpreted to mean that young people are not stranded in the homes of their parents, as perhaps was the case in 1931 and 1932.

#### ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND DEPARTURE-RATES

Economic conditions, as measured by farm income and opportunity for non-farm employment, are undoubtedly related to the departure-

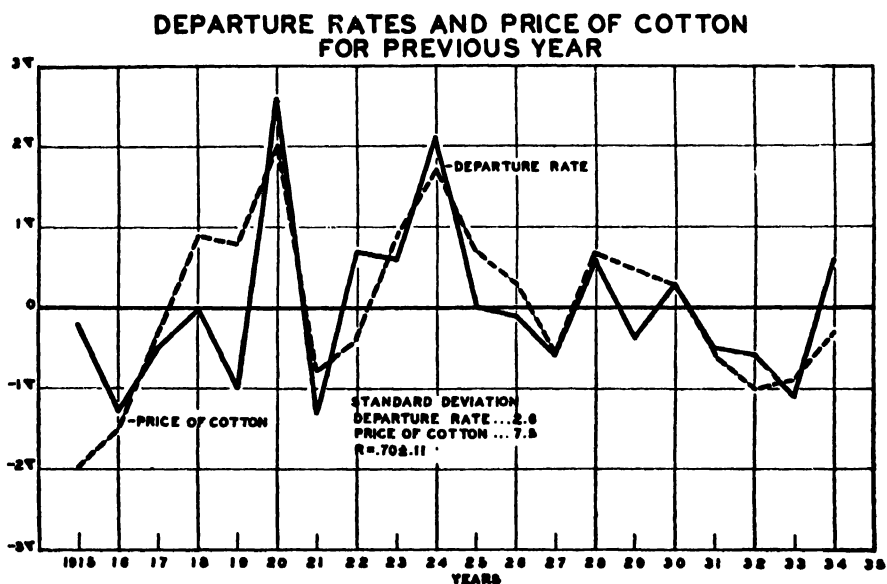


CHART II

This chart illustrates the correlation between the annual departure-rate and the North Carolina price of cotton for the previous year. The ordinate scale is in standard-deviation units. The cotton price series is taken from the *North Carolina Farm Forecaster*. Secular trend has been eliminated from both series.

rates of rural youth. Table II shows, for instance, that departure-rates were very low during 1931 and 1932, the worst of the depression years, and that there was a significant increase in departure-rates during 1933 and 1934. A sudden rise in departure-rates immediately following the World War, when cotton and tobacco prices were very high, is also to be noted; and, correspondingly, a sharp fall in departure-rates in 1921, ordinarily labeled as a depression year.

Statistical evidence of the relationship between economic conditions and the departure of rural youth from their parental homes is found

TABLE IV

DEPARTURE-RATES OF OFFSPRING, 15-29 YEARS OF AGE, FROM RELIEF AND NON-RELIEF PARENTS, SHOWING ALSO THREE-YEAR MOVING AVERAGES OF DEPARTURE-RATES.

Year	Actual Crude Rates			Moving Averages of Rates*		
	Total	Relief	Non-Relief	Total	Relief	Non-Relief
1934	11.2	9.8	11.6	(11.2)	(9.8)	(11.6)
1933	8.2	7.3	8.3	8.6	7.5	8.9
1932	6.9	5.8	7.2	7.1	6.0	7.3
1931	6.3	5.3	6.5	7.5	6.0	7.8
1930	10.4	7.4	11.0	8.5	6.3	9.0
1929	7.0	5.1	7.4	8.2	6.5	8.5
1928	8.2	8.5	8.2	7.8	7.0	7.9
1927	7.6	6.0	7.9	8.2	7.9	8.2
1926	9.3	11.0	9.0	8.6	9.3	8.5
1925	8.2	9.3	8.1	9.0	10.2	8.8
1924	10.3	11.1	10.2	8.9	10.2	8.7
1923	6.8	9.2	6.5	8.1	9.1	8.0
1922	8.4	7.0	8.7	7.5	6.0	7.7
1921	6.3	1.0	6.9	8.0	4.0	8.4
1920	10.7	7.0	11.2	8.6	6.2	8.9
1919	6.5	9.8	6.1	8.0	9.3	7.8
1918	8.1	10.5	7.8	7.1	9.2	6.8
1917	5.5	5.9	5.5	6.8	6.5	6.8
1916	7.9	3.6	8.5	6.7	6.0	6.8
1915	5.3	10.7	4.5	(5.3)	(10.7)	(4.5)

\* See the text for an explanation of the moving averages used. As no moving averages for the years 1915 and 1934 could be calculated, the actual values have been inserted in parenthesis.

in a correlation of departure-rates in two cotton-farming areas<sup>4</sup> with the price of cotton the year previous to the year of departure. A correlation of  $r=+.70\pm.12$  was found between these two variables, a correlation which is clearly significant. Chart II shows this correlation graphically. The correlation is a logical one, because the high price of cotton has its greatest effect on farm income in the latter part of the crop-year, and such income naturally enables many young people to get a job, go to college, get married, or perhaps to set themselves up in farming the following year. To be sure, a relatively high farm income increases migration to farms, but it may also aid many young people in the country to begin farming for themselves.

### DEPARTURE RATE TRENDS BY RELIEF STATUS

3 YEAR MOVING AVERAGE  
WEIGHTS 1-2-1

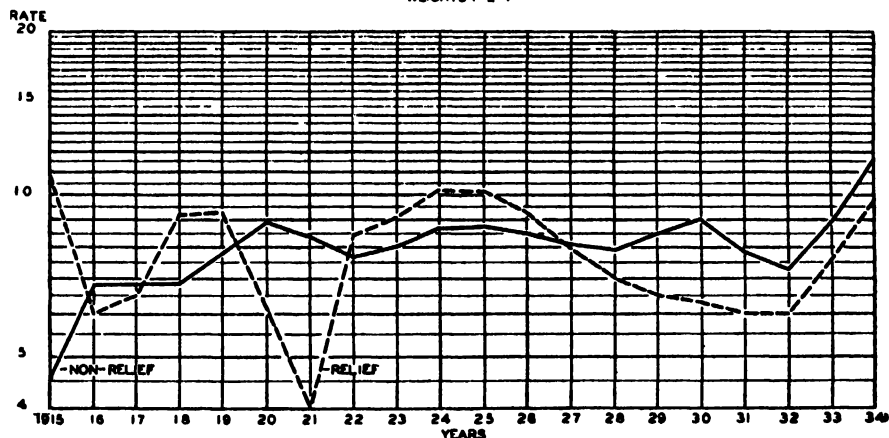


CHART III

This chart indicates that young people from families on relief in 1934 left their parental homes at a higher rate during a period of relative prosperity, but that in periods of depression they left their homes at a lower rate than did young people from non-relief families. In 1933 and 1934, however, the departure-rates of both relief and non-relief youth increased at approximately the same rate.

### RATES OF DEPARTURE FROM RELIEF AND NON-RELIEF FAMILIES

For six consecutive years, 1929 to 1934 inclusive, the departure-rate from relief<sup>5</sup> families was *significantly*<sup>6</sup> lower than the departure-rate

<sup>4</sup> Johnston and Robeson counties, North Carolina.

<sup>5</sup> On relief between April 1, 1934, and April 1, 1935.

<sup>6</sup> If there were no *real* difference between the departure-rates of the relief and non-relief

from non-relief families. Furthermore, the trend in departure-rates from relief families seems to indicate that in the "good" years, offspring of relief parents left their homes at a higher rate than did offspring of non-relief families. Table IV and Chart III present the evidence for the above statement. In the prosperous war years of 1918 and 1919,

TABLE V

THREE-YEAR MOVING AVERAGES OF DEPARTURE-RATES OF OFFSPRING, 15-29 YEARS OF AGE, BY COLOR, SEX, AND YEAR OF DEPARTURE, 1915-1934.\*

Year	White		Colored	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
All Years	7.1	10.6	6.8	7.8
1934	(10.3)	(15.5)	(6.8)	(10.5)
1933	8.0	11.1	5.6	8.6
1932	6.7	8.9	4.8	7.1
1931	7.1	9.5	5.6	6.8
1930	7.7	10.5	8.3	7.2
1929	6.6	10.3	9.4	6.3
1928	6.0	11.1	8.1	4.0
1927	6.6	11.6	6.3	7.4
1926	7.1	10.5	6.7	10.4
1925	7.4	10.5	8.7	10.2
1924	7.0	11.6	8.5	9.2
1923	6.4	11.3	6.1	8.1
1922	6.8	9.4	5.4	7.7
1921	6.9	9.5	7.8	7.8
1920	6.7	11.0	9.6	7.5
1919	6.8	10.2	7.4	7.4
1918	7.1	8.3	4.7	7.1
1917	7.3	8.0	3.9	6.2
1916	6.5	8.7	3.9	5.8
1915	(4.0)	(6.6)	(4.3)	(6.5)

\* As no moving averages could be calculated for the years 1915 and 1934, the actual crude rates have been inserted in parenthesis.

populations, the *probability* that the relief departure rate would be lower than the non-relief departure rate for six consecutive years would equal (.5)<sup>6</sup> or .015625. It may be added that this difference in the departure-rates of relief and non-relief families prevails for six consecutive years and in each sex group as well—a series of events which would, on the average, occur only once in 4,196 years were there no significance to the data.

the departure-rate from relief households was higher than that from non-relief households. Similarly, in the good years from 1923 to 1927, the rate of departure from relief families was higher than from the non-relief families. Also, the dip during 1920, 1921, and 1922 in the departure-rates for relief families is closely associated with the dip in agricultural income and other economic factors.

The fact that departure-rates for offspring of relief families seem to be more sensitive to changes in agricultural and economic conditions is quite in keeping with a correlation found between cotton prices and departure-rates. Even though the relief families of 1934 were not on relief in 1921, their average economic status in 1921 is known to have been somewhat lower than that of families who were not on relief in 1934. Further investigation may reveal that departure-rates in low-income groups are more closely correlated with changes in economic conditions than is the case in high-income groups. Such a relationship not only would confirm the findings of this study, but also would be in agreement with economic theory.

#### DEPARTURE RATE TRENDS BY COLOR AND SEX

3 YEAR MOVING AVERAGE  
WEIGHTS 1-2-1

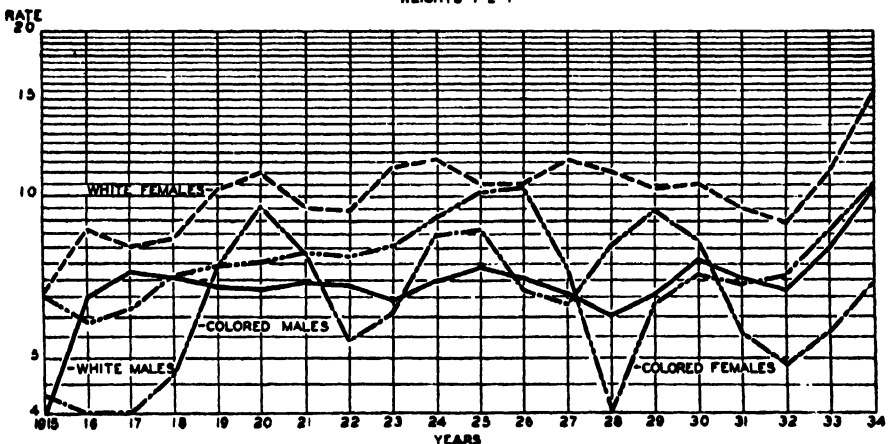


CHART IV

The departure-rates of all sex and color groups have increased during 1933 and 1934 at approximately the same rate. There is apparently no secular trend up or down in these rates.

## TREND IN DEPARTURE-RATES BY COLOR

An analysis of departure-rates by color and sex, as shown in Table V and Chart IV, reveals some logical relationships, as well as some associations that are not so easy to explain. In the first place, there seems to be little correlation between the departure-rates of the four sex and color groups. In all groups, however, departure-rates were low in 1931 and 1932, definitely higher in 1933, and considerably higher in 1934. In the second place, the departure-rates of white males are less subject to sharp and wide variation than is the case of the colored males. The

TABLE VI

THREE-YEAR MOVING AVERAGES OF DEPARTURE-RATES OF OFFSPRING, 15-29 YEARS OF AGE, BY TENURE STATUS OF PARENTS, 1915-1934.\*

Year	Tenure Status			
	Owners	Tenants	Croppers	Laborers
All Years	8.2	8.1	9.3	6.6
1934	(13.7)	(8.4)	(10.2)	(8.8)
1933	9.8	7.6	9.2	6.0
1932	7.1	7.6	8.2	5.3
1931	7.4	8.3	7.8	5.9
1930	8.7	8.6	8.8	6.6
1929	8.6	7.1	9.3	5.8
1928	8.6	5.6	8.8	4.8
1927	9.1	6.2	8.7	6.2
1926	8.4	8.0	10.0	9.5
1925	8.1	10.3	10.6	10.5
1924	8.0	11.4	10.4	8.2
1923	7.2	9.0	11.9	6.8
1922	6.9	6.3	13.2	6.4
1921	7.0	8.6	12.5	7.7
1920	7.1	11.9	11.1	8.2
1919	6.9	10.5	9.8	6.0
1918	6.6	8.9	8.7	3.7
1917	6.8	8.1	6.5	3.7
1916	7.4	5.9	4.9	4.8
1915	7.4	5.0	4.8	5.7

\* As no moving averages could be calculated for the year 1934, the actual crude rates have been inserted in parenthesis.

"ups and downs" in the curve for colored males seems to be more closely associated with the business cycle than is true in the curve for white males. This relationship is in keeping with the association between relief status and departure-rates, as well as with the correlation between cotton prices and departure-rates previously noted. In the third place, the curve of departure-rates for white females is higher than that of all other groups. It shows somewhat more variability than the curve for white males, but somewhat less variability than the curves for either of the colored groups. Finally, the curve for colored females shows a steady rise from 1916 to 1926, a sudden drop in 1927 and 1928, a recovery in 1929 and 1930, a slight recession in 1931 and 1932, and a significant rise in 1933 and 1934. Although some of these fluctuations are logical, further studies will be necessary to provide adequate explanations and interpretations.

#### TENURE STATUS AND DEPARTURE-RATES

Table VI and Chart V show the three-year moving averages of departure-rates according to the tenure status of the farm families studied.

#### DEPARTURE RATE TRENDS BY TENURE STATUS

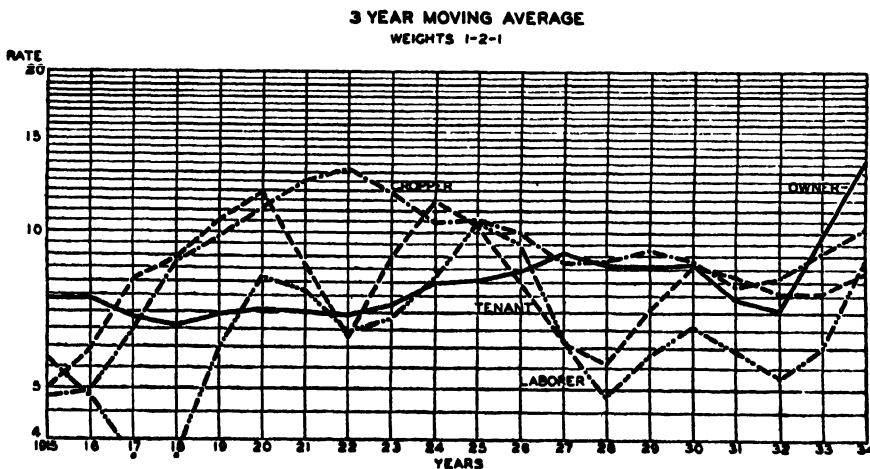


CHART V

This chart indicates that the departure-rates of rural youth from farm owner and farm laborer families increased most rapidly during 1933 and 1934. The departure-rates of rural youth from owner families seem to be the most stable of all, particularly in years previous to the depression.



Tenure status is defined as of 1935. To be sure, previous to 1935 some of the owners may have been tenants or laborers, and some of the tenants may have been owners. However, approximately 50 per cent of the farmers in each tenure group began their careers in the same tenure group that they were in at the time of this study. In any case, tenure status as of 1935 very probably indicates definite planes of social stratification.

The analysis of departure rates by tenure status confirms the conclusions previously drawn with reference to economic status and migration. The curve of the departure-rate for sons and daughters of farm owners is obviously more stable than are the curves representing other tenure groups. Furthermore, during the years 1933 and 1934, sons and daughters of farm owners left home at a rate substantially above that of other groups.

In spite of these trends just noted, it should be said that tenure status does not by any means provide as clear an index of general social and economic status as does the relief-status dichotomy. Some owners of small, infertile farms were on relief; whereas, many croppers living on large, rich farms make substantial incomes and were not on relief.

### CONCLUSION

This paper has presented a simple and practical method of measuring and analyzing the rates at which rural young people depart from their parental homes. The same method is being used in a study of marriage-rates. The basic data needed for this type of study are very few and could be collected extensively and rapidly through simple enumerations of the population or in connection with other social studies. Through a little coöperation and co-ordination in regional research, an adequate amount of data could be obtained for detailed and extensive analysis.

This paper has also demonstrated that there is a relationship between the variations in departure-rates and the economic status of the families involved—whether the economic status is measured by relief, color,

tenure status, or the general income available. The explanation for this relationship between departure-rates and economic status will perhaps best be understood when considered as a part of the response of the rural family and its members to the social environment. For example, it has been shown in a number of studies that the standards of living of poor people are much more dependent on income than is the case of the well-to-do. It is not surprising, therefore, to find departure-rates of rural youth following a similar pattern.

# The Study of the Life Cycle of Families

*Charles P. Loomis*

THE CONCEPT of the life cycle of the family offers an expedient technique by means of which differences in rural and urban cultures, as well as variations within rural and within urban cultures, may be depicted.<sup>1</sup> Granted the families in any two situations or cultures are comparable in their essence or form, their relative behaviors in time and space are significant phenomena for purposes of comparison and differentiation. Relative to the tremendous amount of literature on the family, little attention has been given to family life cycles, yet some observations in this field have been made.

## ADAPTATIONS OF RURAL AND URBAN FAMILIES

Few studies have for their objective the city family's life cycle. Practically all of these studies, the most important of which are those by B. S. Rowntree, have dealt with the poorer families in the urban environment. This student of the poorer workers in England has plotted the life cycle of the individual laborer, showing its deviation above and below the poverty line, a measure which he has developed from requirement standards. According to his description, the period before and during the first years of marriage is characterized by relative plenty. This period of "comparative prosperity" may continue after marriage until the worker has two or three children. Then poverty again overtakes the worker and his family and this period "will last perhaps for

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<sup>1</sup> This article contains the substance of a paper prepared for the 12th Congrès de l'Institut International de Sociologie, Brussels, August 25-29, 1935.

ten years, i.e., until the first child is fourteen years old and begins to earn wages." However, if there are more than three children, this period of poverty will last longer. While the children are earning, and before they leave home, the laborer and his family may enjoy another period of prosperity, "possibly, however, only to sink back again into poverty when his children have married and left him . . ." The family as a unit, therefore, may be said to sink below Rowntree's poverty line when there are many eaters and few workers, rise above this line when there are more workers than mere consumers, and again fall below the poverty line when the aging couple is left alone and is too old to earn.<sup>2</sup> A study of the standard of living of urban laborers of Germany shows that during the period when the younger children are being added to the family, or when families are large generally, the adjustment which the poorer city worker makes is simply to lower his and his family's consumption, since there is no possibility of increasing his wages merely because he has many young children.<sup>3</sup>

How do these facts, which are revealed by studies of the urban family as it passes through its life cycle, compare with those in the farm family's life cycle? P. A. Sorokin has diagrammed the life cycle of the family as falling into four periods.<sup>4</sup> C. P. Loomis used somewhat the same empirical mode of procedure for analyzing the life cycle of white farmers' families in North Carolina.<sup>5</sup> C. C. Zimmerman has treated all of these studies and demonstrated their application.<sup>6</sup> H. C. Taylor,

<sup>2</sup> B. S. Rowntree, *Poverty, A Study of Town Life* (New York, 1922), pp. 160 ff. See also the same author's *The Human Needs of Labour* (London, Edinburgh, and New York, 1918), chap. i, in which he discusses the influence of the proportion of children who are under 14, and hence unproductive.

<sup>3</sup> *Erhebung von Wirtschaftsrechnungen minderbemittelter Familien im Deutschen Reiche*. Zweites Sonderheft zum Reichs-Arbeitsblatte (Bearbeitet im kaiserlichen statistischen Amte Abteilung fuer Arbeiterstatistik, Berlin, 1909), pp. 31, 67.

<sup>4</sup> P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology* (Minneapolis, 1931), II, 41 ff.

<sup>5</sup> C. P. Loomis, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Division of Sociology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1933. Part of this is published in "The Growth of the Farm Family in Relation to Its Activities," *Bulletin No. 298*, North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, Raleigh, 1934.

<sup>6</sup> Carle C. Zimmerman and Merle E. Frampton, *Family and Society* (New York, 1935), pp. 59-60.

J. D. Black, and other agricultural economists have stated the theoretical implications of the life cycle and family size as a factor in agricultural economics.<sup>7</sup> Some American sociologists have treated the problem, although usually from a slightly different angle.<sup>8</sup> From the works of Tschajanow<sup>9</sup> and his summary of Russian and other works it is evident that, although the life cycles of the peasant and of the urban family are somewhat comparable biologically, the adjustment made to obtain a livelihood during the various phases of the life cycle differs in the two instances. When the ratio of mere *consumers* to *workers* is great, the peasant family is not restricted by an inflexible wage, but may increase its income per worker by increased exertion. This is actually done; where possible more land is cultivated and the return per worker increases during the period when the family is burdened by unproductive individuals. Thus the family stands a better chance of securing for its members the necessities of life and, relatively speaking, of avoiding falling below the "poverty line." Furthermore, studies show that as the family grows in relative number of workers who are over fifteen years of age, the size of the holding tends to increase where possible, but the income per worker decreases because there is not the drive which want and unsatisfied desires produce.

#### FARM FAMILY CYCLES IN AMERICA

Loomis studied the life cycle of white owner and tenant farm families in a county in North Carolina. The agriculture of these farmers was

<sup>7</sup> H. C. Taylor, *Outlines of Agricultural Economics* (New York, 1925), pp. 173-175. For a discussion of the principle of the family-sized farm, see John D. Black, "The Role of the Small Farm in Future Land Utilization," delivered at the Chicago Conference on Land Utilization, November 20, 1921; and John D. Black, *Agricultural Reform in the United States* (New York, 1929), pp. 368 ff. For discussions of the principle as functioning here, see P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, *op. cit.*, II, 114 ff.; L. C. Gray, *Introduction to Agricultural Economics* (New York, 1929), p. 102; and George F. Warren, *Farm Management* (New York, 1915), p. 239.

<sup>8</sup> C. E. Lively, "The Growth of the Farm Family," *Mimeographed Bulletin No. 51*, Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, Wooster, 1932; E. L. Kirkpatrick, *The Farmer's Standard of Living* (New York, 1929), pp. 202 ff.; E. L. Kirkpatrick, "The Life Cycle of the Farm Family," *Research Bulletin No. 121*, Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, Madison, 1934.

<sup>9</sup> A. Tschajanow, *Die Lehre von der bauerlichen Wirtschaft* (Berlin, 1923), p. 10.

to a large extent commercial, in the sense that the two cash crops, cotton and tobacco, predominated. However, the farming in this area and in the Southern states generally, with the exception of a few areas, is not highly rationalized nor mechanized. The fact that there is much hand labor for the members of the families studied is an important one in family life-cycle analyses.

The white farmers in Wake County, North Carolina, were found to be making an adjustment similar to that of the peasant families, so far as land is concerned. In general, the quantitative membership of the family unit<sup>10</sup> follows a parabolic cycle during its life history. It starts as a small unit, grows to be a large one, and finally, in the process of breaking-up and decay, again becomes small. During this life cycle, the composition of the family varies at different stages.

For empirical purposes of procedure, four successive stages were delimited. Briefly, these are as follows: The first stage includes only childless couples of child-bearing age. The second consists of families with children, the eldest of whom is under fourteen. It is during this second stage that the family has the greatest proportion of young unproductive units. The third stage consists of families in which the oldest child is past his fourteenth year of age and less than thirty-six. It is in this stage that the family has the most working units. The last stage includes only old families.

This life cycle of the family or household may be said to have its positive basis in part in (a) additions due to births of children to the parents, and (b) additions due to relatives who are not children of the parents. The negative basis lies in the gradual breaking-up of the family unit as the children leave the parental home, either to establish new homes or for other reasons. Any breaking away from the parental home plays a definite part in the life cycle of the family.

The growth of the family unit resulting from additions of persons who are not the children of the parents, indicates that the rural family

<sup>10</sup> See C. P. Loomis, *op. cit.*, for the definition of the family used in the studies. For the studies of the family cycles, one analysis of the data included broken families and another omitted them.

is a "protective society" for the aged and also for helpless children. Instead of establishing old-age and other insurance systems, as is quite common in cities, the rural family may be considered as an insurance institution. The pattern of accretion of persons not born to the immediate family, although quantitatively about the same at the different stages in the life cycle of the family, varies qualitatively. In the earlier stages in the life cycle of the family the extra members added are most likely to be either parents or brothers and sisters of the mother and father (grandparents and uncles or aunts of the children in the family). In later stages the extra members are grandchildren and sons- or daughters-in-law of the husband and wife.

The breaking-up of the family unit follows a different pattern for owners as compared with tenants. Children of tenants leave home earlier and for the specific purpose of marriage to a greater extent than do children of owners. However, among both owners and tenants the children do not, as a rule, move so far away as to be out of easy contact with the parental home. When children leave home but continue to farm in the same neighborhood, only partial separation may be said to have taken place. Mutual aid between the new and the old units can more easily continue when they are not separated by great geographical distances. On the whole, about the same proportions of owners' and tenants' children continue the industry of farming.<sup>11</sup>

*The more working units there are in the farm family, the more land it is likely to farm.* This causes the actual amount of land farmed by the family to fluctuate with the life cycle of the family. The amount of land farmed per adult unit remains fairly constant during the life cycle, in sharp contrast to a great fluctuation so far as the average holding per household is concerned. Such fluctuations emphasize the fact that the farm family forms the basis of an integrated, productive enterprise which is fairly efficient in adjusting the factor of labor to the factor of

<sup>11</sup> These data tend to refute the contention that, for the area studied, rural society selects its least competent persons to remain on the farm and sends its "best" elements to the city.

land. On the whole, the larger the family, the more land it will try to till.

It should be recognized that there are many other ways besides the increasing of crop acreage which might effect an adjustment of the labor force. In the area studied, the family might farm more intensively by shifting from cotton to tobacco or in various other ways. Therefore, the increase in the acreage as the family grows (and its decrease as the family becomes smaller) must be significant, because, without a doubt, the other forces are working also. Since the large family spends a smaller proportion of the budget on the farm enterprise than does the small family, and since the acreage is greater in the case of the large family, the conclusion naturally follows that the third factor, family labor, is playing a more important role in the large family than in the small. As land is increased, capital is decreased in its relative proportion, while the expenditure for labor in the form of food for the family is increased. Not only is the cash expenditure for food increased, but also more food and fuel are grown on the farm.<sup>12</sup>

In the North Carolina study the income accruing to the family from the farm enterprise follows approximately the same pattern as does the number of crop acres farmed by the family in the different stages of its life cycle. The income per adult unit<sup>13</sup> does not fluctuate greatly. The large family tends to earn a larger income than does the small family.

<sup>12</sup> In his study Kirkpatrick found that the Wisconsin families which contained older (high school) children were able to reduce their cash expenditures for the farm enterprise by using more unpaid family labor. "The Life Cycle of the Farm Family," p. 18. An historical study by Loomis and Hamilton shows that the acres operated by Negro tenant farmers increased as the family became older and larger. This was especially true of the first 20 years of existence of the family. After the family had made its most rapid period of growth, the acreage operated continued to increase, but did not differ from the apparent secular trend for all Negro farmers in the county where the study was made. Charles P. Loomis and Horace Hamilton, "Family Life Cycle Analysis," accepted for publication in a forthcoming issue of *Social Forces*.

<sup>13</sup> Here it is immaterial which of the various scales, such as the adult-equivalent scale, the adult-male-equivalent, the ammain, or the cost-consumption unit, is used. These scales are all designed to give some common measure of size and age to families of different composition.



The North Carolina owner families put more money into the farm enterprise and into investments in land, whether computed on the basis of average per household or proportion of the total budget, during the time the family has the largest working force. This is not true in the case of the tenant families which, instead of putting more money into the enterprise in the form of investment or other expenditure, put more into food and clothing as the family working force grows. The chief contribution of the latter is labor power, so they tend to expand this and till more rented acres.

The large family tends to spend a larger proportion of the total budget for food than does the small family. In the case of tenants, this is also true for clothing. Most of the added expenditure is taken out of the money previously used for the farm enterprise. This shift in expenditure may mean the purchasing of fewer machines and the hiring of less labor, which indicates that the family working force is playing a more important role in the large family than in the small one. The quantity of food and fuel produced on the farm fluctuates as the family passes through the various stages, so that the larger the family, the more food and fuel it produces for home consumption.

Changes in expenditures for health and in frequency of visitations by doctors indicate that there are fluctuations in the health of the members of the family as it passes through the stages of its life cycle. As would be expected, these indices point toward the conclusion that the North Carolina farm family with many small children and the family made up of the old parents alone are, relatively speaking, most burdened with sickness.

As the family grows, it does not increase the size of the home as it does the farm land acreage. This may be because it is not customary to build "L's" on houses in North Carolina. Furthermore, it shows that family life is different from the extra-family life. "Crowding," in the sense of increased persons per room, does not have the same

results in families as it does in the extra-family units.<sup>14</sup> The owner family increases the value of the furniture as the family ages, but the tenant family does not do so to any great extent. Tenants are either too poor to increase furniture outlay or find it impractical to do so because of moving so much more often than the owners.

The farm owner's wife does not work outside the house as much after children are born as before. During the stage when most of the children are being born or are still young, she restricts her outside work. During the stage when there are many adult children in the household who can do her work, she restricts her outside work more than in any of the preceding stages. Because the tenant family is poorer, the tenant's wife works about the same number of hours outside in all stages, except that in the last stage, the amount of work done is restricted by age. Hence, in North Carolina the wife may be considered part of the working force of the farm enterprise.<sup>15</sup>

Because of the more pronounced secular trend in modes of purely social behavior, it is more difficult to generalize concerning this than any other behavior. Fluctuations in time used away from home among the families studied by the cross-section method, may be due to the fact that culture in general has changed. The extra-home life has been growing in amount. However, the problem was attacked from several angles, all of which led to the same general conclusions concerning farm families in North Carolina. To corroborate conclusions based

<sup>14</sup> Kirkpatrick found that in Wisconsin farm families, although the size of the house did not change greatly in the different stages of the family cycle, the larger families used a larger proportion of dwellings than did the smaller. "The Life Cycle of the Farm Family," p. 5.

<sup>15</sup> Kirkpatrick found that the expenditures for hired household help in the Wisconsin farm families followed a cycle related to the outside work of North Carolina owner mothers studied by Loomis. When there were many young children, more household help was employed than when the children were older. Later, as the parents became older, and in some cases feeble, more household assistance was employed. The standard of living among Wisconsin farmers is relatively higher than the standard among North Carolina farmers, and probably less work is done in the fields by the Wisconsin mothers. At any rate, when in the life cycle, white farm owners' wives in North Carolina work most in the fields, Wisconsin farm families have the least hired household assistance and vice versa. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

upon the study of the extra-familial activities of the family in different stages of the life cycle; small and large families, irrespective of their age, were studied. To guard against the factor of age entering into this analysis, both young and old families were analyzed separately.

Within the limitations of the data at hand, there seems to be evidence that the internal and external social life of the North Carolina farm family fluctuates with its life cycle. The accounts of both time and money expended for the general home and extra-home social activity of the parents show this. In the first stage, when there are no children to bind the parents to the home, outside activity is great. With the addition of children this activity away from home decreases, both because the children are a burden, and because they make family home life more intensive. When the parents are old, they are either too infirm to take up outside activity again, or they satisfy themselves with contacts with their children's families which in many cases are living in the same neighborhood.

Although there are many exceptions, expenditures for automobiles and indices of mobility not related to the farm business, indicate that the small family is more mobile than the large. This is added evidence that the younger families have fewer ties and are not integrated to the same extent as the larger families.

The greatest apparent exception to the conclusion stated above, concerning the time expenditure of the parents of the small, as compared with the large, North Carolina farm family, is the time spent in school-community meetings. This index increases as the family grows after the first children are old enough to go to school, and decreases again in old age. Since the other indices of the integrating influences of children seem to point to a curtailment of outside activities, it may be true that the modern school system with its compulsory school attendance could be considered one of the disintegrating influences in family life. On the other hand, the rural schools are considered by some to be, in many cases, merely extensions of the homes. The school-community meetings are family affairs in some areas. They need not compete with the

homes as long as the atmosphere of the school is similar to that found in the domestic units. Thus the children are an integrating force in the family, which helps to hold it together and makes it a more self-sufficient unit, in so far as social contacts, recreation, and other similar activities are concerned. Children may be considered as powerful bonds or ties which hold the parents to the family unit. Thus the institution makes its own pattern as it grows in strength. In a sense the presence or absence of children in the unit means a vast change in the type of social life in the community or society. In a good many respects the influences of the process of family growth upon the family itself are similar to those outlined by Emile Durkheim in his study of suicide. His studies showed that not marriage alone, but offspring were the most important factor in "preventing" suicides in families.<sup>16</sup> Children unite the individuals of a family into an organic whole and lend stability to the group.

Studies of the life cycle of the farm family in Wisconsin and Ohio in some respects corroborate the study by Loomis, but this is not the case in all instances. An example is the factor of the amount of land farmed, which Loomis found to be related to the life cycle of the farm family. The area of land cultivated has little or no relationship to the working force in the family at its various stages, according to the Ohio and Wisconsin studies.<sup>17</sup> This is to be explained by several differences. The farms studied in Wisconsin and Ohio were more highly mechanized than those studied in North Carolina. It is doubtful if the change in labor force in the family registers itself in increased acreages on mechanized farms in the same manner that it does on partially-mechanized farms where a great deal of labor is done by hand. Furthermore, the problems of the ease with which additional land might be supplied, and the degree of intensification of farming methods which might be substituted for increased acreage as an adjustment, were not studied

<sup>16</sup> Emile Durkheim, *Le suicide: etude de sociologie* (Paris, 1930). See especially chaps. ii and iii.

<sup>17</sup> C. E. Lively, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 and 21; E. L. Kirkpatrick, "The Life Cycle of the Farm Family," p. 18.

in any of the regions. However, the cash income from crops in the Wisconsin study is comparable to the results of the North Carolina study. In both cases, cash income increases with the working force of the family but decreases in the group of older adults. Since the acreage does not increase, there is indication that intensification of cultivation results from the growth of the family in Wisconsin.<sup>18</sup>

A study made in Minnesota by Wilcox, Boss, and Pond maintains that family labor plays a rather unimportant role in determining whether or not a farm enterprise is successful.<sup>19</sup> Farmers themselves rated this factor last in relative importance as compared with fifteen other factors. The study itself shows that families with large forces of hired help and less family labor were more successful according to several criteria, as for example, the size of the operator's labor earnings. These are computed by adding the cash farm receipts, the increase in inventory, and the value of the farm produce used in the house, and subtracting from this total the sum of the cash expenses, the inventory decreases, a charge for board of hired labor, an estimate of the value of unpaid family labor, and a five per cent interest charge on the total farm investment exclusive of the residence.

This difference between the North Carolina and Minnesota findings can be explained by several factors:

1. The Minnesota study was made during a period of relative prosperity. Studies in Germany and elsewhere have shown that smaller units which depend upon family labor are more stable and make a better relative showing during periods of economic depression than do the larger units which depend upon hired labor.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>19</sup> W. W. Wilcox, A. Boss, and G. A. Pond, "Relation of Variations in the Human Factor to Financial Returns in Farming," *Research Bulletin No. 288*, Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station, St. Paul, 1932. It is interesting to note that the farmers rated the coöperation of the wife second in importance only to farm experience of the operator. The study shows that farmers whose wives coöperated were more successful, measured by the indices used. See pp. 8, 15, 16, 33.

<sup>20</sup> C. P. Loomis, "The Modern Settlement Movement in Germany," *Multigraphed Report*, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, 1935.

2. Farm management analyses are apt to procure a rather rough estimate of the value of farm produce used in the house.<sup>21</sup>

3. Since the family is an organic unit, it is more difficult to adjust the size of enterprise to the size of the family than to hire and discharge extra laborers to bring the man power into balance with the capital and land factors. When the family is too large for the farm and prices are good, it may be difficult to secure more land, and the children may work inefficiently in the economic sense, in Minnesota as well as in Ohio and Wisconsin. In North Carolina land could be cropped or rented by the family to make a better adjustment.

4. The cultural environment in the area studied is different from that in North Carolina. Children in these areas, especially among the more well-to-do families, are not the asset that children were in previous generations. Required schooling, which extends in a great many cases to college training, may make the child an actual liability. The North Carolina families, with lower educational standards, are not so much influenced by these social requirements. The Minnesota families were a select group, being made up of those who would keep farm management records. Such families are likely to give their children all possible opportunities.

5. The larger commercial enterprises were found to make more efficient use of hired labor, as compared with family labor, than was true of the smaller enterprises. This indicates that the units were not family-sized farms in the strict sense of the word. If only family-sized farms had been included and the study had been made during a depression, the results would, in all probability, have been different.

The Wisconsin study shows that the family with many children of the "courting" or adolescent age greatly increases its expenditures for clothing and "advancement goods" for these children. Fathers and mothers may go without clothing in order that children of this age may

<sup>21</sup> This fact was pointed out to the present writer by the senior author, Mr. Wilcox, in a conversation, as one reason why the North Carolina study and his study differ. The families with more children produced more for home consumption but did not receive relatively so much credit for this production.

be dressed according to the current mode. Other family needs are also slighted for the purpose of satisfying this need of the older unmarried children.<sup>22</sup> Kirkpatrick found this trait common for farm families of the United States.<sup>23</sup> However, the more commercialized and urbanized the rural culture, the more people are apt to sacrifice to keep in style with the city modes. The North Carolina study shows that the group of families with the most workers spent more for clothing, but the trend of increased expenditures was not more pronounced than for food. In some respects the North Carolina farmers are less influenced by the city culture.<sup>24</sup>

#### TECHNICAL DIFFICULTIES IN LIFE-CYCLE ANALYSES

If the concept of the life cycle is to contribute materially in establishing a frame of reference by which families in rural and urban and other different environments are to be compared, it is imperative that the characteristics of the families in two given situations which are comparable be rigidly defined in order to reduce the number of unknown factors. Most of the studies of the life cycle of the family have failed to define satisfactorily the terms employed.

Obviously, if the life cycle analysis of families in any given society is to be used for comparative purposes, it must be based upon similar definitions of the family. If the prevailing form of the family differs in two geographic or cultural areas it is not easy to make meaningful comparisons of the life cycle. For example, it is difficult to use the life cycles of polygamous and monogamous families indiscriminately, to show the influence of various factors in the growth of the family in urban and rural situations.

A. Tschajanow maintains that the family may be defined according to biological or according to economic criteria. He maintains that the

<sup>22</sup> E. L. Kirkpatrick, "The Life Cycle of the Farm Family," p. 30.

<sup>23</sup> *The Farmer's Standard of Living*, p. 205.

<sup>24</sup> See Tschajanow, *op. cit.*, p. 37. Tschajanow states that the influence of city culture upon the desires of peasants might have the same influence as an increase in the size of the family. Other things being equal, there would be a tendency toward greater exertion on the part of the family members, as the peasant family comes in contact with city culture.

rural family may be defined differently from the urban family. In Russian public statistics the family has commonly been considered as a group of persons who eat from one table or out of a common kettle. Others have defined the family as a group that sleeps under the same roof, behind the same lock. This is a definition used by S. Bleklow for the French peasant.<sup>25</sup>

At least one rural study has defined the family as a social unit, the members of which manage a farm enterprise.<sup>26</sup> Such a definition, if strictly adhered to, makes it difficult to compare rural and urban families, since relatively fewer urban families operate enterprises as a unit.

In the type of family used in studying the life cycle, for some purposes members who have left home or died are not considered as being members of the family. It is essential that the concept of the family be one of a social group, the important units of which extend to include no more than two generations. The cycle includes parents and children and does not refer to the life cycle of a family made up of many generations carrying the same or different name.<sup>27</sup> Many times grandparents and grandchildren are members of the family to be studied, but the marriage of the husband and wife marks the beginning of the family and the death of these parents at old age marks the end of the cycle. Studies differ in their definitions as to whether, and under what conditions, a child may be counted as having left home, and there are other difficulties in definition. However, the common and legal conception of the family in the Western World is general enough to allow for some comparisons of life cycles.

The life cycles in families, although similarly defined in rural and urban situations, will manifest variations within a given country. Many studies have shown that the rural family starts its life cycle earlier in

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> Loomis, "The Growth of the Farm Family in Relation to Its Activities."

<sup>27</sup> This idea of a family life cycle which extends over many generations is, however, a legitimate use of the term "family cycle" and is a valuable concept for certain purposes. See the discussion by C. Gini in Harris Foundation, *Population: Lectures on the Harris Foundation* (Chicago, 1930), pp. 19 ff.



the sense that the husband and wife are likely to marry younger. The greater longevity and size of the rural family, and the fact that the children in the rural family tend to leave home to a lesser extent or to leave at an older age, make the rural family follow a pattern different from that of the urban.<sup>28</sup> This fact does not disparage the use of the concept of the life cycle for comparing cultures. In fact, it may be an aid in contrasting cultures having similar family organization. However, the fact that families of somewhat similar legal or formal definition have dissimilar life cycles in different environments makes it difficult to isolate *internal* and *external* effects of a given factor, such as, let us say, lack of available resources.

Few of the most important statistical studies of family cycles have made any use of the *historical* analysis. For example, no historical analysis has been made of families which began their existence during a given year.

Sometimes a makeshift method has been resorted to: families of different ages have been studied at one time, and these families have been fitted into a life cycle. Naturally, this *cross-section* analysis differs from an *historical* analysis. For instance, if one is studying four phases in the life cycle of the family, and a cross-section study of the population is made, members of families are requested to give information about family composition and related social and economic factors at the time of interview. If the data are gathered for, say, four hundred families (one hundred in each of four successive stages), each group of one hundred families would be typical in size and age composition and would represent a given phase in the life cycle. A different procedure would be to study the life cycle of one hundred families, tracing each through its historical development. Since conditions may change as time passes, the two modes of analysis may yield different results. In America, for example, the young parents in the cross-section study have had more education than the older groups of parents. Many of the parents in families used to represent the last stage of the family life

<sup>28</sup> P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, *op. cit.*, II, 41 ff.

cycle in the cross-section analysis could not have gone to public school, since there were few public schools when they were of school age. There have been such fundamental changes in family consumption in the last few generations that a study of the standards of living based upon the variation in the life cycle, using the cross-section method, would not be apt to be the same as the standard of living of families studied by the historical method.<sup>79</sup>

It is usually impossible to study a large number of families by the historical method. This would involve interviewing only old families, and even then a part of the last phase of the life cycle would not be depicted.<sup>80</sup>

Notwithstanding these difficulties, the cross-section mode of analysis of the life cycle of the family probably does not ordinarily deviate far from actuality. The fundamental differences in the stages of the life cycle are related to the adding of new members, their breaking away, and the general aging of the family. These biological processes are conditioned by cultural changes, but it is doubtful if they have changed so fundamentally, especially among farm people, as to invalidate entirely cross-section studies of the family cycle.

<sup>79</sup> E. L. Kirkpatrick, "The Life Cycle of the Farm Family," p. 9. Here it is stated that a great change in food consumption has taken place. Since the study is not an historical, but a cross-section study, there is no way of knowing whether food habits in the last 40 years have undergone more change than the difference one finds now between young and old families.

<sup>80</sup> Hamilton and Loomis have studied the life cycle of Negro families with the view of comparing the historical and cross-section methods. Although only 33 tenants and 122 cropper families were included in the study, the following conclusions were drawn: The data did not demonstrate that the cross-section method could not be applied to the study of family life cycles. In fact, the comparative analysis, even though supported by an insufficient number of cases, led the authors to the conclusion that the cross-section method is useful in the analysis of family living data. This is especially true in those areas where no great changes in social and biological factors affecting the family have taken place. Loomis and Hamilton, *op. cit.*

A rather complete discussion of the difficulties involved in analyzing the average changes in mental traits as persons mature, by studying persons selected at random with different ages at any one time, is found in E. L. Thorndike, *Educational Psychology*, "Mental Work and Fatigue and Individual Differences and Their Causes" (New York, 1925), III, 270-280.

The other problems involved in a discussion of the growth of the family are many. Is the subject to be approached from the point of view of "successful additions," that is, members who live for a considerable period of time, or are all additions, "successful and non-successful," to be registered irrespective of the length of time they live and the influence they have on the permanent processes of the family? The analysis generally is confined to the living members found to be residing in the families at the time the cross-section study is made. Such an approach includes both types of additions because the "successful" additions are present and likewise many of the "non-successful" additions only recently born. This method does not seriously impair the discussion, because the important problems in the description of the life cycle of a family, especially in its earlier stages, hinge more upon the number of persons who live, and hence consume and produce, than upon the "non-successful" additions. However, one way of describing the growth of a family is in terms of the spacing of births of its living members. This method encounters the difficulty that, when older families are studied, the interval of time between the births of children will likely be greater than for somewhat younger families, if other things are equal, due to the fact that more children in the older families have died, leaving gaps between the ages of the successive living children.<sup>81</sup>

To say that the family, as a social group, has a life cycle in the same sense that single plants and animals may be spoken of as having life cycles, is to tread upon difficult philosophical ground. In the present study no attempt is made to prove that the human family is an organic cell or unit in a society composed of living human individuals, in the sense that a plant or an animal may be considered as an organism made up of units or cells of living protoplasm. The question as to whether social groups or the whole of human society may be considered as a totality made up of individuals or smaller groups of individuals, which

<sup>81</sup> Tschajanow, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14. Here it is stated that these difficulties may in a sense be overlooked, because such investigation is interested in the economic not the biological family. He assumes the "successful" birth of a child every 3 years. Rowntree in *The Human Needs of Labour*, pp. 22-24, also recognizes this difficulty, but sees no way to cope with it on the basis of available data.

function as cells in the biological sense, need not be raised in this discussion.

Although the life-cycle analysis may lend concreteness to comparisons of family behavior in different situations by contributing to the frame of reference by which cultural traits may be compared, the results of such analyses are not easily interpreted. We may ask, "How do economically poor families meet the necessary expenditures incurred by bringing children into the world and rearing them to the age when their own work pays for the current expenditures which they necessitate?" The question might be more easily answered if all families reared the same number of children, but it may be shown that the adjustment may be partly internal and partly external.

The childless family with a given material standard of living, which requires that all the family resources be expended, can make several adjustments relative to having children. It can increase its family resources by increased exertion on the part of the family or its members, or in some other way; it can lower its material standard of living; or it can make some changes in the standard of living. The family may, however, prefer to retain its previous material standard of living and either forego having any children or restrict their number. The family may also make a combination of these three adjustments. Thus, the adjustment may be made by the family changing either itself or the social and physical environment in which it exists, or both. As is so often true of social phenomena, "immanent" factors responsible for the life cycle of the family may themselves be acted upon by the general environment. These factors may themselves be changed or inhibited, or they may cause a change in the environment which will allow for a family life cycle of a given pattern. Mutual cause and effect are involved in such cases.

The fact that the families in various situations, the life cycles of which are being studied, may not be exactly comparable by definition, plus the fact that the adjustments which families make to a given condition do not manifest themselves exclusively by either outside or

inside change so far as the family is concerned, are important difficulties to be considered in family-cycle analysis.

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Studies of the family have given too little attention to the life cycle. The few studies which have been made, however, have led to some important conclusions. Of interest to students of population and students of the economic and social life of the family is the difference between the manner of adjustment of the city family, on the one hand, and the farm family, on the other, as the two different groups pass through their life cycles. The few studies in existence indicate that the poorer city families must either restrict the number of children or reduce their material standard of living to bring children into the world. The farm family, on the other hand, has a somewhat better opportunity of increasing its income, through increased exertion on the part of adult members and in some instances of the small children who may aid considerably in supporting themselves long before they would approach self-sufficiency in the city. Data are presented which show that the whole social and economic life of rural families is different in various stages of the life cycle. Professor Sorokin and Russian authorities have delimited four stages in the life cycle of the family. Four similar stages in the life cycle of white North Carolina farm families were studied, and it was found that this analysis threw light on differentials in biological, economic, and social activity. Other studies made under other conditions and with the use of different methods agree with the findings of the North Carolina study in some instances and not in others.

Studies of the life cycle of families in the rural and urban environments in different brackets of material well-being would be of great interest. Also the differences between the life cycles of families in rural cultures which have various degrees of commercialization, mechanization, or rationalization would be of interest. The few studies in existence indicate that industrialization and commercialization influence the life cycle of families. Since many laws of consumption and living have been

evolved, it would be interesting and worthwhile to test these laws and hypotheses at various stages of the life cycle of the family.<sup>82</sup>

There have been many attempts to evolve scales and units which will reduce families of different ages and sizes to units of comparability. Among these are the adult-equivalent scale, the adult-male-equivalent, the ammain, and the cost-consumption unit. As early as the middle of the last century, such units as the "quet" were in use for the purpose of reducing families to a comparable basis. One method of testing and comparing these scales, would be to apply them all to the life cycle of the family so as to determine whether the consumption per unit according to the scale remains the same during the entire life cycle of the family.

It is hoped that future studies will be made with the use of precise definition of terms, and that methods will be developed in order that families may be compared on the basis of their economic and social behavior at different periods in their life cycles. It is also desirable that studies be made by the use of both the historical and cross-section methods.

<sup>82</sup> For a discussion of these laws, see C. C. Zimmerman, "Laws of Consumption and Living," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLI (1935), 13-30.

# Concentration of Rural Relief in Certain Localities in North Carolina

*Gordon W. Blackwell*

SINCE certain rural localities present relief problems more serious and relief needs more distressing than are generally found throughout an area, a study of such problem-localities is an important lead in planning programs of permanent rural rehabilitation.<sup>1</sup> In many instances rehabilitation of the individual family must depend, in a large measure, upon the economic and social reconstruction of a community. A plan for the rehabilitation of a number of families *en masse* may be what is needed. Or, from another viewpoint, it may or may not be a wise policy to attempt to rehabilitate a family in the midst of a decayed and decadent community.

The causes of demoralization in most problem-localities are not temporary. Even though a perceptible decrease in the size of rural relief rolls occurs as a result of economic recovery, the inhabitants of these problem-localities still will be on the poverty-level and in need of governmental aid. They will constitute a perpetual relief problem unless the community can be successfully reconstructed economically and socially, or unless the community is partially broken up and its population moved elsewhere. These "sore spots" on the rural relief map should be the object of careful scrutiny by those planning land-use, farm-credit, or rural-rehabilitation programs for the various governmental agencies.

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<sup>1</sup> An example of this type of study is the preliminary unpublished survey of isolated communities in the Tennessee Valley made by William E. Cole for the Tennessee Valley Authority during the winter of 1934.

In order to obtain accurate data concerning the location, types, and problems of the North Carolina localities in which there was a concentration of rural relief, a state-wide survey was conducted in April 1935.<sup>2</sup> The first criterion used in identifying a rural problem-locality in this study was that it must have on the unemployment relief rolls a percentage of its inhabitants considerably in excess of the rural relief-rate for the state. In April 1935 the rural relief-rate in North Carolina was estimated to be approximately eight per cent.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, it was arbitrarily decided that to be included in this study, a locality must have had at least 20 per cent of its resident families receiving relief at the time of the study.

Available material makes it possible to delimit three types of problem-localities in North Carolina.<sup>4</sup> (1) The *rural problem-village* is defined as an area varying in size from one-sixteenth of a mile to two square miles, and having a density of more than 200 individuals per square mile. Most villages included in this study are unincorporated trading centers. (2) The *rural problem-community*, with an area varying from one square mile to twenty square miles and a density of less than 200 individuals per square mile, may be distinguished from a village. These communities are seldom trading centers, but generally are recognized as consisting of a distinct group of people. There is usually a group feeling—an in-feeling—in the community. Community organization and intracommunity relationships are non-existent as a rule, except for perhaps a school, a church or two, and a country store. These localities

<sup>2</sup> Schedules on the rural problem-localities were obtained through the Social Service Division of the North Carolina Emergency Relief Administration.

<sup>3</sup> From unpublished data of the "Survey of Current Changes in the Rural Relief Population," Division of Research, Statistics and Finance, Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Rural cases are defined as those living in the open country or in villages of from 50 to 2,500 population. It is believed that the relief index is reliable in determining problem-localities in North Carolina. It should be noted that this state has had a relief-rate considerably below that of most other southern states.

<sup>4</sup> These area and population-density limitations were selected after a careful scrutiny of the assembled data. They make possible one classification of the localities, a procedure which should facilitate discussion. Sometimes it is difficult to discern fundamental differences when one type of locality tends to shade into another. It is not maintained that these definitions would be suitable for use in similar studies in other regions.



are considered here as potential, rather than actual, communities. (3) There is the *rural problem-area* which contains more than twenty square miles and has a low population density, usually less than 10 persons per square mile. In this sparsely settled type of locality the inhabitants seldom feel that they are members of the same group. The area is too large for definite community organization.

Returns from 93 of the 100 counties in North Carolina revealed that 84 per cent have problem-localities as defined above. In the 62 rural counties<sup>5</sup> for which completed reports on rural problem-villages, communities, or areas were obtained, it was found that 3.4 per cent of the population of the counties as of 1930 was included in these problem-localities, as compared with 10.2 per cent of the relief load. Inasmuch as the three types of localities already delimited differ widely in characteristics and problems, each will be given separate consideration.

*Problem-Villages.* Two in every ten of the 161 rural problem-localities reported are classed here as problem-villages. Problem-localities of this type are fairly well distributed throughout the state, save for a concentration of cotton-mill villages in Gaston, Lincoln, and Cleveland counties. (See the accompanying map.) The estimated average area of these problem-villages is approximately one-half of one square mile. The median density of population is estimated to be 1,005 persons per square mile. This makes it evident that these are small, closely settled, and compact centers. The median number of families living in these villages is 55, the upper limit being 300 families. The distressing economic situation of the inhabitants in these centers is clearly shown. In these problem-villages the median percentage of families receiving relief at one time or another since October, 1932, is 75 per cent. In April, 1935, the median percentage of families on relief in these villages was 39.

In more than two-thirds of the cases, the primary cause of the economic breakdown has been loss of industry, usually textile or lumbering (Table I). Other industries included are furniture manufacturing,

<sup>5</sup> Counties in which at least 75 per cent of the population is rural.

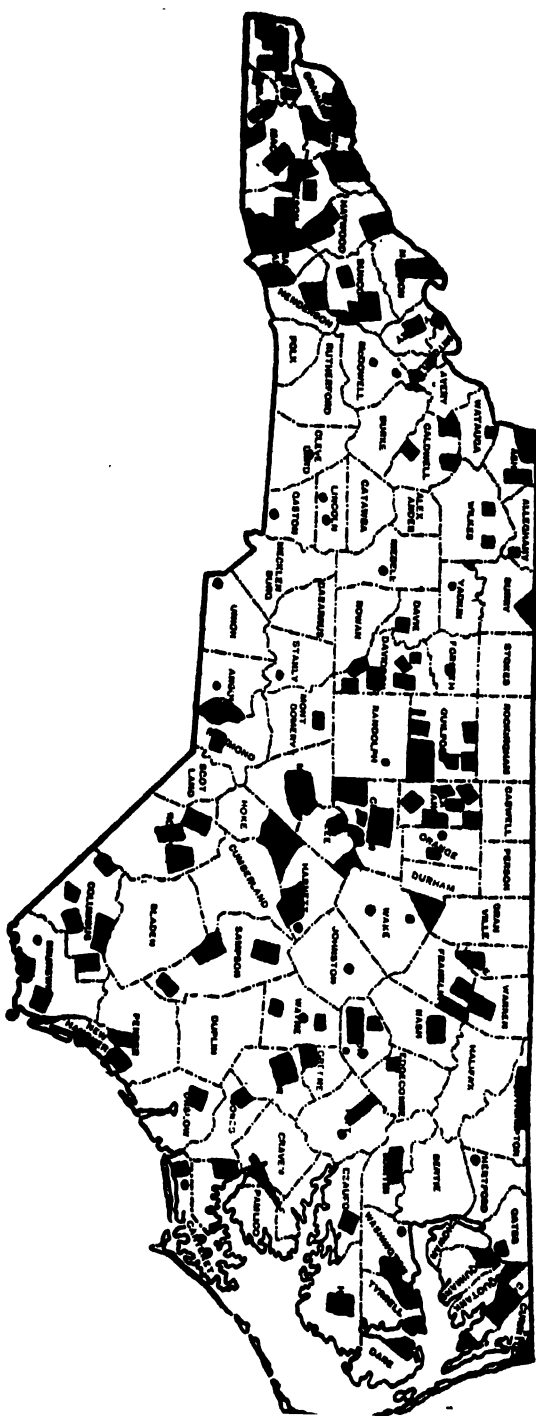


TABLE I

CAUSES OF COMMUNITY DEMORALIZATION IN 33 PROBLEM-VILLAGES IN  
NORTH CAROLINA AS REPORTED BY EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION  
SOCIAL SERVICE DIRECTORS, APRIL, 1935

Cause	Importance of Cause			Total Frequency
	First	Second	Third	
Total .....	33	16	9	58
Loss of industry.....	24	3	..	27
Type of people.....	8	4	3	15
Submarginal land.....	1	..	..	1
Inadequate credit facilities.....	..	5	1	6
Geographical isolation.....	..	2	3	5
Insufficient cultivable land.....	..	2	..	2
Poor drainage.....	..	..	2	2

tanning, handlemaking, metalworking, brickmaking, dredgeboating, and fishing. In some villages, only one cause was reported as being responsible for the economic difficulties of the past few years, while in others there appears to have been a combination of causes. In almost one-half of the villages, the type of people is believed by social service workers to be the primary, or a contributing factor in the evident community demoralization. Inadequate credit facilities and geographical isolation appear to be other important contributing factors.

*Problem-Communities.* Five in every ten of the 161 rural problem-localities are classed as problem-communities. Heavy concentrations are found in the mountain counties, in the centrally located sand-hills section, and in the extreme southeastern coastal-plain tidewater area. With a median area of approximately seven square miles and a median density of 35 persons per square mile, each of these communities contains a group of people who are generally recognized as being separate and distinct from the other residents of the county, yet who are bound together by few community ties. Nevertheless, the inhabitants usually feel that they are "of a stripe." The median number of families living in these communities is 52, the upper limit being 460 families. A

median percentage of 43 of these families were on active relief rolls in April, 1935, while a median of 67 per cent has received aid at one time or another since Federal relief began.

Loss of industry is the most important factor bringing about the economic problems of these communities (Table II). Following is a

TABLE II

CAUSES OF COMMUNITY DEMORALIZATION IN 86 PROBLEM-COMMUNITIES IN NORTH CAROLINA AS REPORTED BY EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION SOCIAL SERVICE DIRECTORS, APRIL, 1935

<i>Cause</i>	<i>Importance of Cause</i>			<i>Total Frequency</i>
	<i>First</i>	<i>Second</i>	<i>Third</i>	
Total.....	86	72	54	212
Loss of industry.....	30	13	6	49
Type of people.....	16	13	8	37
Geographical isolation. ....	14	6	6	26
Submarginal land.....	9	18	17	44
Insufficient cultivable land.....	9	15	8	32
Racial prejudice.....	3	..	1	4
Inadequate credit facilities.....	1	2	7	10
Poor housing.....	1	1	..	2
Foreclosure on plantations.....	1	..	..	1
Hookworm and malaria.....	1	..	..	1
Illiteracy.....	1	..	..	1
Poor drainage.....	..	1	..	1
Intermarriage.....	..	1	..	1
Acreage reduction (AAA).....	..	1	..	1
CWA employment				
"spoiling people".....	..	1	..	1
Short growing season.....	..	..	1	1

list of the industries, the total or partial loss of which has resulted in the need for readjustments in 40 so-called problem-communities:<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The industry was not specified for nine other communities in which loss of industry was reported as a cause of demoralization.

Lumbering . . . . .	22
Fishing . . . . .	5
Textile . . . . .	4
Mining . . . . .	2
Lumbering and mining . . . . .	1
Furniture manufacturing . . . . .	1
Railroad . . . . .	1
Tannery . . . . .	1
Cotton gin . . . . .	1
Growing plants . . . . .	1
Quarrying . . . . .	1
Total . . . . .	40

As was true for problem-villages, the type of people was reported by social service workers as an important factor in the demoralization of almost one-half of these communities. This factor was reported more often as a contributing than as a primary cause. Geographical isolation, submarginal land, and lack of sufficient cultivable land are other causes reported frequently. Racial prejudice, sometimes due to racial intermixture, is reported for only a few communities but is a serious difficulty wherever existent. Lack of adequate credit facilities is again a fairly important contributing factor.

*Problem-Areas.* Approximately three in every ten of the 161 rural problem-localities are classed as problem-areas. Here again heavy concentrations are found in the mountain counties and in the centrally located sand hills section of the state. The size of these problem-areas varies from 21 to 225 square miles, the median being approximately 60. Population density is generally very low, ranging from 1 to 42 persons per square mile with a median figure of 6. The median number of families living in these areas is 94, the upper limit being 500. A median percentage of 36 was on active relief rolls in April, 1935, while a median of 63 per cent has received aid at one time or another since Federal relief began.

Loss of industry is at least partially responsible for the distressing economic situation of almost one-half, or 20, of these problem-areas

(Table III). A list of these industries with the frequency of their occurrence follows:†

Lumbering . . . . .	11
Textile . . . . .	1
Broom factory . . . . .	1
Quarrying . . . . .	1
Lumbering and gold mining . . . . .	1
Fishing . . . . .	1
Lime kiln . . . . .	1
Stock raising . . . . .	1
Total . . . . .	18

† The industry was not specified for two other communities in which loss of industry was reported as a cause of demoralization.

TABLE III

CAUSES OF COMMUNITY DEMORALIZATION IN 42 PROBLEM-AREAS IN NORTH CAROLINA AS REPORTED BY EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION  
SOCIAL SERVICE DIRECTORS, APRIL, 1935

Cause	Importance of Cause			Total Frequency
	First	Second	Third	
Total . . . . .	42	36	27	105
Loss of industry . . . . .	15	4	1	20
Submarginal land . . . . .	7	8	5	20
Poor drainage . . . . .	5	1	1	7
Type of people . . . . .	4	2	5	11
Geographical isolation . . . . .	3	9	2	14
Inadequate credit facilities . . . . .	3	3	2	8
Insufficient cultivable land . . . . .	2	4	4	10
Landlord-tenant problem . . . . .	2	..	1	3
Foreclosure on plantations . . . . .	1	2	..	3
Racial difficulties . . . . .	..	1	..	1
Acreage reduction (AAA) . . . . .	..	1	..	1
Illiteracy . . . . .	..	1	..	1
Soil erosion . . . . .	..	..	2	2
Intermarriage . . . . .	..	..	1	1
Poor housing . . . . .	..	..	1	1
Agricultural depression . . . . .	..	..	1	1
Poor transportation facilities . . . . .	..	..	1	1

Problems involving the land, such as submarginal land, poor drainage, lack of sufficient cultivable land, and soil erosion, were reported for more than one-half of the problem-areas, usually as contributing factors. The type of people, geographical isolation, and lack of adequate credit facilities were reported frequently, as was true for problem-villages and communities.

Every problem-locality has its own background, development, and immediate plight. Many catch the interest, scientific and human, of the social analyst and planner. To add vividness to the data, several situations will be described briefly.

Study of one county in southeastern North Carolina revealed five definite rural problem-communities, each of which illustrates a special cause of demoralization. These problem-communities, clearly distinguishable from both villages and open-country areas, contain only five per cent of the 1930 population of Columbus County and approximately six per cent of its area, while having 33 per cent of its relief load in April, 1935.<sup>8</sup>

"Crusoe Island," about three miles in length and one and one-half miles in width, is wholly surrounded by river, lake, and swamp—hence the name. Tradition has it that first settlers were fugitive Huguenots attracted by the isolation of the spot in the early years of the nineteenth century. It appears certain that there is French ancestry. A peculiar enunciation in speech sets these people apart from others in the county.

There has been little immigration and almost no emigration. All of the inhabitants are white, with the exception of one half-breed Negro. General farming and stock raising were profitable in the early days. The population of the community has increased rapidly, property being continually subdivided. Even now almost all of the families own a few acres of land and a shack. Expansion being prevented by natural barriers, population pressure became more and more acute. A tempo-

<sup>8</sup> The writer has spent approximately two months in this county studying the rural relief situation in general and problem-communities in particular. Definite rehabilitation plans were worked out for the first community here discussed.

rary panacea came in the form of lumbering, which flourished in the vicinity during the first quarter of the twentieth century. This provided a cash supplement to the already too small farm income. Growing of cotton, the only cash crop, was made unprofitable by the boll weevil. With most of the timber gone, with the lumber business at a virtual standstill throughout the region, and with no money crop or industry to depend upon, the overcrowded community gradually has been forced to an awareness of its situation.

Of the 57 families now resident on "the island," 43 were on relief in April, 1935, and six others had been temporarily dropped from relief rolls. Only eight families had not asked for aid at one time or another during the past three years. In spite of assistance in the form of Federal relief, the standard of living in the community has been extremely low as compared with that of other rural relief families in the region.

In addition to lack of sufficient cultivable land and loss of industry, poor drainage, isolation, and intermarriage are some of the factors which have gone into creating the economic and social problems of these people. Five family names include 36 of the 57 families, and the inbreeding shows definite undesirable results, since several of the children are feeble-minded or dumb. Nevertheless, social service workers reported that the people were not of a degenerate type. If a score of the families were removed, reconstruction of the community through intensive agriculture and the introduction of a small seasonal industry, perhaps a woodworking shop, might be possible. There is still enough timber nearby to supply raw material for a woodworking shop, and a number of the residents have shown skill along this line.

Since most of the families already own small homesteads, reconstruction of the community would doubtless afford a much lower per capita rehabilitation cost than if an entirely new community were established elsewhere. Furthermore, it seems desirable to move as few people as possible, especially since strong traditions and other common bonds hold the families together. If decent living is to be made possible for any, coöperation must be obtained from all, and rehabilitation plans



must be on a community basis. Every foot of available land must be cultivated with a maximum of efficiency. Efforts along the line of rural social organization must start practically from scratch, but the number of possible achievements looms large.

In another section of the county is "Straw Hill," a community larger in both area and population than "Crusoe Island." Here again the families are all white. Continued inbreeding shows marked effects on physiques and mentalities. The people here appear to be of a lower type than those on "Crusoe Island." Population pressure has been brought about in much the same way in both communities. Soil has been worn out through the year-after-year cultivation of the same crop while little or no fertilizer was being applied to the land. During the past three years, 75 of the 95 families in "Straw Hill" have received relief. Almost three-fifths of the families were on relief in the spring of 1935. Community organization, social or economic, appears impossible for this community. Because of the submarginality of the land, movement of almost all the families to new locations seems to be necessary.

Another all-white rural problem-community in the county is "Shackletown." Poor soil and a lack of sufficient land are the economic difficulties. Malaria and hookworm combine to produce a serious health problem. The people are looked down upon by the rest of the county, as is usually the case with the inhabitants of problem-localities. In this instance, however, the attitude toward the community is especially unfavorable. Housing in "Shackletown" is very poor as compared with that of nearby rural relief families in general. Exactly one-third of the families were on relief in the spring of 1935. Health rehabilitation, as well as the removal of a number of the families, is badly needed.

The "East Arcadia" Indian community is located one-half in this and one-half in an adjoining county. This division by county lines, and the resultant splitting of responsibility, may partially account for the lack of attention given the social, educational, and economic needs of these so-called Indians until quite recently. Fifty families, most of whom

represent a mixture of Indian, Negro, and white blood, have found themselves socially ostracized. They are not permitted to mingle with whites, and they will not mingle with Negroes. Scarcity of fertile land in the community has resulted each year in a number of these families cultivating land on shares in the rich Green Swamp area some ten to fifteen miles away. During the planting and harvesting seasons many of these Indians take their families to the "big swamp" where they camp for days in picturesque lean-to's and live by primitive methods not greatly unlike those of their aboriginal forebears. Ten of the 50 families were on relief in the spring of 1935, while an additional 15 had been dropped temporarily from relief rolls. It appears that social rather than economic difficulties are most outstanding in this rural problem-community.

The local county paper in 1912 had the following to say concerning the community of "Boardman":

Little has been said through the press of the town of Boardman . . . but no town in North Carolina has ever contributed to the growth of its county more than has the Butters Lumber Company, the wonderful mill that constitutes the town . . . The marvelous growth and development of this mill and the entire section of the county has been phenomenal . . . one of the most important enterprises in the state . . . Boardman has some of the handsomest homes in the county, large colonial residences, and almost every home of any consequence is steam heated, with all modern conveniences . . . Boardman is one of the best towns in Columbus County and in none of them will you find cleverer people.<sup>9</sup>

Such was Boardman at one time. Population declined from 828, in 1920, to 158 in 1930. The lumber mill reduced operations in the early twenties and ceased altogether in 1927. The few residents in the almost completely abandoned town have practically no source of employment. The rural residents attempt to live by farming on submarginal land. Bootlegging has been turned to by one group of families. There is

<sup>9</sup> From an unpublished MS, "Survey of Boardman, North Carolina" by Leslie Raddatz, Head Case Worker in the Columbus County Office of the North Carolina Emergency Relief Administration. The following discussion of Boardman relies much on this community study. Quoted excerpts are taken from the "Greater Columbus County Edition" of the *Whiteville News Reporter*, January 25, 1912.

much prostitution. Approximately one-half of the families in the community have been partially dependent upon Federal relief since October, 1932. Almost one-third were on relief in April, 1935. To move most of these stranded families to better land seems the desirable solution, especially since large tracts, suitable for resettlement, are available in the county.

Turning to Transylvania County in the Blue Ridge Mountains, one finds examples of another type of concentration of rural relief. In two sparsely settled sections of the county, with no more than three or four persons to the square mile, two-thirds of the families have been partially dependent upon relief since October, 1932. In the two areas, 38 and 48 per cent, respectively, of the families were on relief in April, 1935. The stock law now prevents them from grazing cattle. Most of the timber is gone. The young people in these localities can no longer find employment in the cotton mills 40 or 50 miles distant, across the South Carolina line. Many textile workers have returned to their mountain homes during the past few years. Very little of the land is suitable for farming, and ownership of most of this land is concentrated in the hands of a few landholders. Bootlegging has been prevalent, but now is no longer so profitable as it was at one time. Here again, rehabilitation of a number of families as farmers on an individual basis may be possible. Nevertheless, resettlement is sorely needed for some families, but it probably would be difficult of achievement because of the folkways of the people. In attempting to move families from this area to better potential farming sections, administrative policies should not attempt to run directly counter to folkways. Resettlement should be essayed gradually.

We conclude that many problem-villages, communities, and areas can, and should be, reconstructed economically and socially. It will be a paying proposition from many viewpoints. The cost per family rehabilitated thereby will doubtless be less than the per-family cost in newly-created, organized rural communities. In some instances, however, resettlement of some of the population of problem-communities

and areas will be necessary, but folkways must be reckoned with. Where the type of people is an outstanding difficulty, aid from the social work profession clearly is needed. Loss of industry in rural areas, lack of sufficient cultivable land, submarginality of land, and general agricultural problems appear primarily to be the concern of Resettlement Administration. Through the coöperation of various governmental agencies now existing, much can be done for the people in these rural localities with long-time problems.

# Rural Emergency Recreation and Future Rural Social Planning

*Bruce L. Melvin*

**E**FFORTS OF the Works Progress Administration to carry leisure-time programs to rural people have been beset by many disappointments, but some accomplishments have actually been realized. Moreover, those who have worked to make the programs succeed have felt that they were doing much more than merely meeting an emergency. This has definite significance for the future.

This paper is written out of some knowledge of what has been undertaken, if not completely accomplished. It has been prepared with a full appreciation of difficulties involved, and a keen feeling that the work, to be of value, must mesh with the permanent programs being fostered in the interests of rural life, especially those carried on by the state colleges of agriculture. The three main headings of this presentation are: (a) program of work, (b) relation to extension, and (c) difficulties and opportunities. The discussion is a synopsis of ideas, rather than a complete presentation of the whole subject of emergency recreation in relation to the extension service.

## PROGRAM OF WORK

The program of work, as promulgated in rural territory, has consisted of two parts: (1) development of recreational facilities, including the establishment of farmers' leadership-training camps and the construction of community centers; and (2) promotion of definite activities.

The creation of recreational facilities sponsored by the Works Progress Administration had two objectives: (1) to put available relief

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labor to work; and (2) to provide recreational centers for rural people. Such a facility, when developed on a comprehensive scale, has been designated as a combination of the farm family's educational and cultural center, community house, and "country club." Other names attached have been "Rural Recreational Reserve" and "Rural Recreation Center."

Such centers are usually planned to contain from 10 to 300 or more acres of land and a lake, living stream, or pond. The land, therefore, has been selected to meet needs for outdoor sports, playgrounds, and camp sites. Facilities thus planned vary from inexpensive parks, picnic grounds and camp sites, to elaborate buildings and equipment. Projects of this type, including the leadership-training camps and community centers, to the value of \$70,351,000, were approved by the Works Progress Administration. But since the Supreme Court declared the Agricultural Adjustment Act unconstitutional, thereby stopping the promotional work of the Section in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration with which the writer was identified, he has no way of knowing how much is actually being expended for the construction of the facilities. In some states attempts were made to develop such facilities in every county, but it is doubtful if any such success has been attained. However, considerable help in the development of 4-H club camps has been given under the same heading.

The recreational activities have ranged in actual accomplishment from zero to one hundred per cent in the various states. Outstanding states are Mississippi, in the South, and New Hampshire, in the Northeast.

Here is a list of activities promoted in the South during January, 1936:

Community get-togethers  
Square dances  
Community sings  
Dramatic groups  
Dramatic entertainments  
Handicraft groups  
Manual training classes

Home art clubs  
Glee clubs, Junior and Senior  
Art classes  
Book study clubs  
Negro group meetings  
Programs for other agencies  
Miscellaneous activities

Community nights were the most successful, constituting the phase of the program most beneficial and most generally enjoyed. According to the report:

At these gatherings old and young play together. In one Delta community, community nights are held in a vacant store building. The small children sleep on empty shelves while the older folks enjoy a social evening. At least one each month is held in communities where there are leaders available. . . . The usual community night consists of group singing, special entertainment numbers, stunts, games and contests.

In this same state a program for youth has lately received special attention. Youth forums have been organized with four-fold objectives: spiritual, mental, physical and social. The so-called spiritual program is promoted through vesper services, according to the report, while glee clubs, dramatics, debates, book reviews, and classes on current events serve to develop the youth mentally. Active sports, like volley ball and baseball, develop the physical side, and the social needs are served through community programs.

The details of the New Hampshire program cannot be given here, but a paragraph from the report of the extension work for 1935 clearly describes a part of the picture:

Perhaps the most gratifying bit of community work done in the past half year has been the establishing of the "community night habit." It is indeed a satisfaction to see from fifty to two hundred people varying in age from three-year olds to eighty-five-year olds enjoying an evening of wholesome recreation, planned and carried out under a committee from their own town. The program usually consists of community singing, group games for different ages, simple forms of dramatics, dancing of the type that all can participate in, and special entertainment features bringing out home talent. . . . The instance of one town is given here. A series of six community nights was planned in Canaan with a different committee responsible for each program. The attendance grew from fifty the first night to one hundred and one hundred and fifty the following programs, making it necessary to hold these affairs in a larger hall. At the conclusion of the series the suggestion was made that these activities be continued during the summer months out-of-doors. A fireplace has been built, necessary committees named for the supervising of the programs, and outdoor meals followed by community singing, and open-air dramatics are being enjoyed by the entire

community. The enthusiasm and interest created by these events can hardly be measured, and the value gained by the townspeople cannot be presented in dollars and cents.

### RELATION TO EXTENSION

The promotion of recreational facilities as discussed above was done through and with the coöperation of the Federal and State Extension Services. It was the function of the Agricultural Rehabilitation Section of the Program Planning Division of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration to assist in formulating such plans, the objectives being (1) to employ the non-agricultural rural population on relief, thereby keeping them from commercial production, and (2) at the same time to provide centers for the activities of our farm population.

These facilities were being set up with the advice of and in so far as possible under the aegis of, the Extension Services of the states. Indeed, those who were concerned with stimulating the development of such facilities, including the writer, felt that there lurked a grave danger that adequate use would not be made of the centers if the Extension Service as a permanent agency did not enter the picture to help plan the programs.

The relation of the activity programs in recreation to the Extension Services varied widely from state to state. The Mississippi report, quoted above, contains no mention of the Extension Service, though it is certain that coöperation prevailed. However, in New Hampshire the Extension Service set up and supervised the work, a part of the funds being provided by the Works Progress Administration. In Indiana, likewise, there was a definite plan of coöperation, the Works Progress Administration lending assistance for promoting recreation in the 4-H clubs. Similar assistance is being provided for the 4-H clubs in Connecticut.

An example of a coöperative relationship is that established between Indiana University and the state Works Progress Administration, where the two agencies together appointed Professor Schlafer of the University faculty as chairman of a recreation committee for Bloomington and



Monroe counties. Under this committee the Works Progress Administration paid the salary of a Mr. Earle as county supervisor of recreation, together with twelve recreation leaders and six laborers from the Administration's payrolls. Professor Schlafer's statement made at the First Annual Meeting of the State Recreation Committee of the Governor's Commission on Unemployment Relief shows the success of the experiment:

' I would like to say that we have tentative plans at the University under way for considerable expansion of our professional preparation program for recreation leaders in order to meet the need that now exists for better prepared people in the professional field. We hope that the experimental program will prove its value so definitely during the present emergency that directed community recreation will win for itself a permanent place in our public welfare and service program throughout the state.

#### DIFFICULTIES AND OPPORTUNITIES

Disappointment in accomplishments has been keen in a few cases in the emergency recreation work. In some states the Extension Service has exerted no effort to assist the Works Progress Administration's workers, while in other states the Administration apparently has wanted to handle its own affairs. In general, where mutual assistance has not been rendered it has been due to the fact that for the emergency workers, people on relief have had to be put to work quickly, while the extension organizations of the states have had their programs well marked out. Furthermore, it has required a continual effort for those out in the states to keep within the framework of governmental regulations, especially when the reports about such regulations were not always consistent. A major difficulty has been the excessive energy and money per person reached, necessary to meet the recreational needs of rural folk. Furthermore, it was not always easy to find white-collar recipients of relief who could lead in leisure-time activities.

No one knows what the future needs of rural people will be, but from study of past depressions, and from data at hand pertaining to the surplus of young people in rural territory, it is safe to say that the responsibilities for putting many unemployed to work will not be over

within the next few months. With that assumption in mind, I wish next to point out the purposes which motivated the efforts of those in the Works Progress Administration who are concerned with community organization for leisure, and with possible opportunities for state planning to augment the present opportunities for the expenditure of leisure time.

It is now widely recognized that organization for leisure has become an important phase of contemporary community planning, and that the expenditure of leisure time on the part of the people should contribute to resourceful, complete, advantageous, and joyous living. It is also generally assumed that (1) adequate facilities for recreation must be provided by each community, (2) trained leaders must direct the programs, and (3) all age groups must be reached.

The programs in leisure-time activities, therefore, have had two purposes: (1) the providing of useful employment for unemployed persons capable of functioning as community leaders, and (2) the assisting of communities in laying a basis for a permanent program of leisure-time activities through the use of the community resources, the immediate stimulus coming from the emergency funds.

Somebody has work to do in the future; the work of providing recreational facilities and recreational leadership has just begun. In the past this has been, and for the future should continue to be, a practical program, an example of social planning. The definite needs for some time to come will be (1) to provide work for unskilled labor through the development of parks and recreational areas, and the construction of training camps and assembly places which can be of assistance in the improvement of the social, educational, recreational and economic life of all the people of rural areas, (2) to develop programs for the utilization of the recreational, training, and assembly facilities, and (3) to assist communities in setting up recreational programs under the guidance of trained leaders. The latter will absorb in work of genuine service a part of our surplus population. No agency can give greater aid in all three phases than the Extension Service.

## CONCLUSION

The recreational programs fostered by the Extension Service and the emergency agencies have emphasized the fact that a large segment of the rural population is not engaged in farming. This non-farming group may increasingly constitute a service segment of the rural population. Its place may lie more and more in the field of leisure-time activities, including the providing of facilities as well as leadership. In this the emergency programs for recreation have pointed the way.

# Current Bulletins

*Charles P. Loomis, Editor*

"The Trend of Births, Deaths, Natural Increase and Migration in the Rural Population of Ohio," by C. E. Lively and C. L. Folse. Ohio State University and Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, *Mimeographed Bulletin No. 87*. Columbus, 1936. Pp. 10.

Birth registration has been compulsory in Ohio since 1915, death registration since 1909. This bulletin summarizes the registration data, particularly for the rural areas of the state. Starting with the simple proposition that the difference in the population of any given area at two different dates is due either to natural increase or to migration, or both, the net amount of migration to or from each county of the state is computed. The counties are then classified as "areas of absorption" (counties which had a net gain greater than the amount of their natural increase), "areas of dispersion" (counties which experienced a net loss by migration, but in which the net loss was less than the natural increase), and "areas of depopulation" (counties in which the net loss by migration exceeded the natural increase of the rural population).

The authors do not present an analysis of reasons for the situation as described, but they do suggest one immediate and practical application of such studies: attempts at resettling rural people should be directed to areas in which the prevailing ratio of population to land resources is low, and where the natural increase of population is low, or the rate of migration high, or both; they should not be directed to areas having a high natural rate of increase and containing a population which shows little disposition to migrate in the face of a relatively high ratio of population to land resources. These are not set forth, however, as the sole criteria for the selection of areas in which denser settlement might become desirable. This suggestion opens up a whole range of problems, for, by implication, it challenges the assumption that the areas of good land have not contributed to the stream of urban-bound migrants.

It is to be hoped that detailed studies similar to that contained in this bulletin will be undertaken in other states. In addition to making available material which is much needed at the present time, they would provide the starting point for more detailed studies of the rural migrations which are becoming increasingly important.

CONRAD TAUBER

"North Carolina Farm Housing," by Emilie White Stevens and Helen Estabrook. North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 301*, Raleigh, 1935. Pp. 82.

This report is based upon field work done with C.W.A. funds, under supervision of the State Extension Service Specialist in Home Management. It was part of a national survey of farm housing. It gives the size and age of houses, kind of material of which the house was built, conditions as regards need of repairs, and general equipment. These items are classified according to color and texture status of occupants.

In general, the farm homes are very poorly equipped with labor-saving devices or with sanitary conveniences. More than three-fourths of the families carry water an average of 177 feet.

Only three per cent of the homes have flush toilets, 11 per cent have improved privies, and fully one-third were found with no toilet facilities whatever. Bathrooms, bathtubs, and lavatories were found in about three per cent of the homes. Only 9.5 per cent had electric lights, and labor-saving devices were exceedingly rare.

This bulletin is an effective affirmative answer to the query, "Do we have rural slums?"

LOWRY NELSON

"Part-Time Farming in Oregon," by G. W. Kuhlman, T. J. Flippin, and E. J. Niederfrank. Oregon Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 340*, Corvallis, 1935. Pp. 49.

This study is another in the series of state projects developed in coöperation with C.W.A. and F.E.R.A. The authors interviewed 2,110 part-time farmers in selected districts of 14 counties. It is estimated that 25 per cent of all farmers in Oregon can be considered as part-time farmers, in that their farms are too small to produce a living.

The authors define part-time farming as follows: "Part-time farming as used in this study means living on and utilizing a tract of land by a family in which the wage earner divides his time and energy between it and employment for wages or the operation of a small business, thus deriving a substantial part of his income from more or less regular employment off the place, and furnishing the family with some of its own food requirement, fuel, and the home site, but only incidentally selling small surpluses."

The average farm is 10 acres, of which four acres are cultivated. The average age of farmers is 50 years. Two-thirds of them had had previous farm experience. Most of the non-farm employment was secured in timber and sawmills,

common labor, building trades, mechanical and electrical work, and railroads, although a total of fifty different occupations are reported.

Of all households considered, 77 per cent were equipped with electricity; 68 per cent reported radios; 64 per cent, running water in the house; 46 per cent, bathrooms.

Non-farm employment accounted for 53 per cent of the total family income, the total average annual income amounting to \$958. The chief advantages given for part-time farming are, "country life and lower cost of living." Among the major disadvantages noted are distance from city, work, or school, and lack of employment. The chief mistakes made by the farmers in their own opinion are: (a) paid too much for land, and (b) purchased tracts too small.

Ninety-four per cent of the coöperators said they were satisfied with their situation. The Oregon study concludes that expansion of part-time farming enterprises must depend upon fostering new industries.

This study tends to strengthen the growing conviction among rural sociologists that more research needs to be done to determine family living levels under conditions of combined farming and industrial employment. The studies of the economics of part-time farming in most instances naturally pay scant attention to the social aspects.

LOWRY NELSON

"Readjusting Montana's Agriculture: Land Ownership and Tenure," by Roland B. Reese. Montana State College Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 310*. Bozeman, 1936. Pp. 24.

"Readjusting Montana's Agriculture: Population Resources and Prospects," by Roland R. Reese and Carl F. Kraenzel. Montana State College Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 309*. Bozeman, 1936. Pp. 19.

The confusion of the last few years has led to organized attempts in many areas to understand the factors underlying the changes which are taking place and to estimate the changes which will probably occur. There has been an increasing demand that the social scientist make his interpretations available in a form that large numbers of people without specialized training will be able to use, that is, to apply them to the problems with which they are confronted. Discussion and study groups have insisted that social scientists present, in non-technical terms, summaries of the basic materials upon which discussions of politics and programs can be built. These two bulletins exemplify the response of an agricultural college to this demand. Both bulletins present census and other materials for readers who have neither the time nor the equipment to secure these materials from the original sources. Both describe briefly the present situation and future prospects, and include short discussions of the causes of the changes

which have occurred. Brief comments on the significance of the changes observed are interspersed throughout the text. Each relies largely on the use of cross-hatched maps as aids in presentation, and each avoids the use of tables.

It is neither desirable nor possible for the presentation of such materials to be similar to that of a scientific treatise. However, the salient facts should be set forth in an objective and easily understood manner, without "writing down," and the authors should rigorously avoid any interpretative comments not scientifically justified by the data. The chief advantage of having the social scientist prepare such materials should be his ability to avoid unwarranted generalizations.

Both bulletins meet these standards to a large extent. Somewhat more attention to modes of presentation might have made for additional simplification without loss of accuracy. In the bulletin on land ownership and tenure one might question the use of curves plotted on semi-logarithmic paper, or the complexity of some of the cross-hatched maps; in the bulletin on population the use of figures on average size of family might have added considerably to the discussions of decreasing birth-rates. The statement that a decreasing population involves more drastic readjustments than an increasing one might be challenged, as might also the unsupported assertion that various forms of governmental assistance have reduced the mobility of the population. Whether or not bulletins such as these should deal with one state as an isolated unit, is a matter of judgment—it is to be hoped that the use of these bulletins will lead to demands for similar presentations relating the trends in Montana to those in other states.

CONRAD TABUBER

*Southern Policy Papers* issued by the Southern Policy Committee in coöperation with the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936.

Number 1. "Southern Population and Social Planning," by T. J. Woofter, Jr. Dr. Woofter stresses the implications of the relatively high rates of population increase in the South, especially among the whites. The increases, coupled with the decreasing availability of employment and previous migration, have upset the balance of whites and Negroes in urban employment, tended to reduce southern wages as compared with other regions, upset the southern age distribution by drawing off the productive middle-aged and talented groups, tended to create a "hotbed of smouldering discontent," and created an unemployed-youth problem. The A.A.A., although assisting farmers in the upper-income brackets, has not assisted others sufficiently. The policies of Federal agencies should be integrated, and a more rational use of land introduced.

Number 2. "Social Security for Southern Farmers," by H. Clarence Nixon. H. C. Nixon depicts the unsatisfactory economic and social conditions which

confront the southern farmer. The abolition of the tenant-cropper system, revision of tariffs, and utilization of social insurance is advocated.

Number 3. "Social Legislation in the South," by Charles W. Pipkin. C. W. Pipkin describes the laws relative to Workmen's Compensation, Female and Child Labor, Pensions, Child Welfare, Social Security, and the administration of the labor laws in the various southern states.

Number 4. "How the Other Half Is Housed. A Pictorial Record of Sub-Minimum Farm Housing in the South," by Rupert B. Vance. R. B. Vance presents twenty-three excellent photographs of southern houses and homes, portraying rural life among croppers, tenants, owners, and new resettlement colonists in the South, more effectively than might be done in volumes of printed matter on the subject. He makes the point that the prevalence of shacks in the South is due to the system of land tenure. Data on the values of southern houses as given in the 1930 Census are included.

Number 5. "Industrial Social Security in the South," by Robin Hood.

Number 6. "The Southern Press Considers the Constitution," by Francis P. Miller.

Number 7. "The T.V.A. and Economic Security in the South," by T. Levron Howard.

These three bulletins, as is the case with the others, are printed to "stimulate interest in questions of public importance in the South" and may be obtained from the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

CHARLES P. LOOMIS

"Farm Versus Village Living in Utah: Plain City—Type 'A' Village," Parts III and IV, by Joseph A. Geddes. Utah Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 269*. Logan, 1936. Pp. 82.

This is the second in a series of bulletins based on a study of Utah village life begun in 1927. Data relate to Plain City which is a center of 806 inhabitants about 10 miles from Ogden, a city of 40,272 population.

A detailed analysis of the utilization of community facilities by residents of the area is presented. Agencies are classified as falling into the following defined categories: (1) local, (2) semi-local, (3) outside community (largely city), and (4) non-community. The residents are classified into the following categories (defined in the previously published *Bulletin No. 249*): (1) farm dwellers, (2) village dwellers, (3) edge-of-town farmers, and (4) non-farm families. Then the participation of each class is given. The participation of residents by age, sex, marital status and family position is analyzed. Participation during six different months in different years is presented in an attempt to show a seasonal cycle.



By cross-tabulation and correlation techniques, the relationship between distance of residence and participation in local social agencies is analyzed and the provisional conclusion drawn that these two factors are positively related. Density of population and participation in local functions are positively although not closely correlated. The extremely detailed analysis, including tabular and graphical presentation, may trouble one not specializing in community organization. However, excellent summary statements are given.

CHARLES P. LOOMIS

# Book Reviews

*The Dairy Industry and the A.A.A.* By John D. Black. Washington: The Brookings Institution, Publication No. 64, 1935. Pp. 520. \$3.00.

*The Dairy Industry and the A.A.A.* is one of a series of seven books being published by the Brookings Institution on the various phases of the A.A.A. The last volume of the series is to appear in 1936 and will deal with the broader social and economic effects and implications of the A.A.A. as a whole. For this reason, the volume on dairying is limited to a consideration of practical issues concerning the production and distribution of dairy products.

Chapter I outlines the historical background of the act and its objectives. The temporary or emergency aims are clearly contrasted with the permanent or continuing objectives. Dr. Black considers that the state of emergency for agricultural products will not pass in a year or two, nor will it disappear abruptly.

Chapter II presents a concise summary of facts regarding the dairy industry of the nation and discusses the distribution of milk production, methods of marketing, consumption in relation to price, fluid-milk problems, and the objects and achievements of organizations representing the dairy industry.

Chapter III deals with the dairy situation between 1930 and 1933. From 1929 to 1934, milk cattle increased over 13 per cent, while milk production increased only 4 per cent. This lag in production may be mainly due to the drought and poor pasture and not to a permanent recession of the strong upward trend of dairy production over the past sixty years. After 1929 the prices of milk declined rapidly, but dairy farmers did not suffer from the depression to the same extent as other farmers, because milk prices remained fairly high during the 1921 to 1929 period. Fluid-milk areas suffered less than butter and cheese producing areas, where the price decline was proportionately greater.

Chapters IV and V discuss the fluid-milk industry in its relationship to the A.A.A. The opposing views within the Administration's ranks and the conflicting interests of various groups of producers and distributors are clearly set forth. The problems and difficulties of controlling fluid milk without controlling other dairy products are clearly brought out, and the dangers inherent in fixing resale prices are exposed. A perusal of these two chapters gives one the feeling that the difficulties of control are almost overwhelming, and that those who have patiently attempted to bring order out of chaos are to be admired, in spite of their mistakes, for courageously attempting a solution.

Chapters VI, VII, and VIII contain a general discussion of the structure and functioning of the fluid milk market and the many factors affecting producers' and consumers' prices.

Chapter IX outlines the various alternatives to public control which have been suggested and discussed by numerous specialists in the dairy industry, but contains no recommendations by the author. Dr. Black believes that the final decision will depend upon legal considerations and the results of further experimentation. Public ownership and control of milk-distribution facilities are sympathetically discussed, but in closing the chapter, he states, "Informed and assisted competition certainly has not had a sufficient trial as yet."

Chapters X, XI, and XII cover the application of various forms of distribution and price controls and their legal aspects, both under federal and state boards.

Chapters XIII and XIV deal with production control and the danger of an overexpansion of milk production due to the increase in pasture and hay on land taken out of cotton, wheat, corn, or tobacco. The close relationship between the dairy industry and beef production is shown, and various methods of production control are discussed. These chapters are rather disappointing because they contain no reference to land zoning and planning for uses other than farm crops, and fail to satisfy one's natural desire to know just where Dr. Black stands on the question of applying the industrialists' "planned scarcity" to agriculture. One feels that he is sympathetic to production control, but does he approve of it?

Chapter XV contains a valuable summary and appraisal of the A.A.A. as related to dairying. Dr. Black points out that the program has improved morale and attitudes and that "averages do not serve in the weighing of such values." To some extent, producers have learned to think in broader and less immediately selfish terms and more in terms of the industry as a whole. That Dr. Black is not in favor of the development of this syndicalist tendency is shown by this statement from p. 448: "A society composed largely of organized groups each seeking its own ends would defeat itself utterly." This question of the effect of the A.A.A. upon farmers' organizations seems of great importance to the future structure of society. Will it tend to make these associations stronger or weaker, more socially minded or more powerful in seeking to advance purely sectional interests? Dr. Black leaves the answer to such questions to the final volume, although he points out that the government may play a part in assisting one group of society at the expense of another, and that by a rise in the prices of dairy produce, the poorer-paid workers and unemployed in the cities may be made to suffer.

The book, as a whole, may be criticized for overemphasizing the fluid-milk industry to the neglect of the butter, cheese, and other milk-products industries. There is also a lack of unity in the whole treatment. One receives the impression that great quantities of facts and information have been collected from many sources and incorporated into a book without having been thoroughly digested.

Facts, particularly economic facts, need more than listing—they need interpreting. Today the economic life of all nations appears to be moving towards a period of social control, possibly to a new mercantilistic era. The basic question seems to be: How shall this control be exercised? Shall it be by federal, state, or local executives? Shall it be by legislative edicts fixing quantity, quality, and price limits, or by bargaining associations aiming to establish a reasonable value by supervised competition? Some industries and some types of regulation are suited to one type of control and some to another. To some, federal legislation is essential, while others may best be controlled locally. Is marketing control enough, or does the abundance of agricultural land make some form of production control essential to prevent another collapse of prices in the near future? And if the Supreme Court's interpretation of the constitution prevents a socially desirable national control of some phases of our economic life, are the dangers from amendment greater than the benefits to be expected? Dr. Black presents the facts which raise these basic questions and one wishes he had discussed them much more fully.

University of Wisconsin

ARTHUR C. BUNCE

*Social Reform in Norway: A Study of Nationalism and Social Democracy.* By John E. Nordskog. Los Angeles: University of Southern California, Social Science Series No. 12, 1935. Pp. vii, 184.

This interesting monograph presents a detailed picture of the rise of one of the most complete social-security systems in the world against a background of intense loyalty to national traditions. The nature of the services and their administration will have minor interest for readers of this journal, but the description of the role played by rural people and rural traditions in the development of these forms of mutual aid, confirm several accepted generalizations of rural sociology.

Of critical importance in Norway has been the absence of full-fledged feudalism, and the presence of a strongly institutionalized linking of family and property (pp. 2 ff.). Social unity developed around a king rather than an aristocracy, and this direct relationship has consistently enabled reforms to be accomplished without social conflict. Rural families have maintained their respected independence. During periods of Danish or Swedish rule, the ancient democratic traditions were nourished in rural communities. The disturbances which have elsewhere accompanied the rise of an industrial proletariat have been minimized by the stable peasantry (p. 30). The whole movement for expanded social services has retained a strong nationalistic tinge, and centralized administration has been balanced by vigorous local-community life.

Chapter VI is particularly relevant to contemporary discussions in the United States. It treats of the strong resistances developed in Norway against profit

from the use of natural resources; the recognition of prior rights of neighbors and kin to purchase released or unused land; controls over the use of land, and rules enforced for the maintenance of soil fertility; restriction on land speculation; recognition of the value of improvements made by tenants; and the protection of the integrity of family property in land.

Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

*German Agricultural Policy, 1918-1934.* By John B. Holt. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Pp. 240.

Dr. Holt's description of post-war agricultural policy in Germany will interest American readers chiefly because it contains the first thorough exposition in English of the National Socialist agrarian philosophy and legislation. The author's own particular interest seems to lie, however, in the part played by economic necessity, and in the constant struggle between the laborite Socialists, the urban liberal industrialists, and the nationalistic farmers' parties over issues of governmental food administration, tariffs, prices, subsidies, credit, land settlement, and labor legislation.

The post-war period in Germany, with its cycle from a Socialist dictatorship immediately following the Revolution through a period of revived liberalism to the National Socialist one-party rule, offers ample opportunity to observe this interplay of forces in the development of agricultural policy in a modern industrial nation. The methods used by the Nazi in mitigating the antagonism existing between the pressure groups representing agriculture, on the one hand, and labor-industrial interests on the other, are amply treated. In this connection the importance of racial and nationalistic ideologies is stressed.

Readers who are primarily interested in the actual legislation and governmental machinery established to administer the "Inherited Freehold Act," debt liquidation, price control, taxation changes and the establishment of the new department of agriculture (*Reichsnährstand*), will concentrate on the latter part of the book. The work, originally a doctor's dissertation accepted at the University of Heidelberg, treats in an excellent manner the historical development of the agricultural ideology and philosophy of those in power in the German Nazi State.

United States Department of Agriculture

CHARLES P. LOOMIS

*Die Kreditlage der deutschen Landwirtschaft im Wirtschaftsjahr 1933-1934.* Berlin: Deutscher Rentenbank-Kreditanstalt, Verlag für Sozialpolitik, Wirtschaft und Statistik, 1935. Pp. 47. Tables and illustrations.

The recent German land law, creating inherited freeholds which are inalienable and not to be encumbered with indebtedness, has created new problems in

the realm of agricultural credit. The general condition of agriculture as indicated by relative income and indebtedness greatly improved during the fiscal year 1933-34. A special study was made of from 2,874 to 4,493 agricultural enterprises during the period between the fiscal years 1927-28 and 1933-34. In all the principal farming regions the debt structures of the different types and sizes of enterprises were analyzed. Indebtedness was also related to size, kinds of enterprises, and regions.

General indebtedness of the large units was greater in Eastern Germany than in Western Germany. In neither case were the largest units the most encumbered, although in general it may be said the larger units were more encumbered than the small ones, so far as absolute figures are concerned. This is not true, however, when the encumbrance is expressed as percentage of total value of the enterprise.

United States Department of Agriculture

CHARLES P. LOOMIS

*Das Reichserbhofrecht, Eine systematische Gesetzeserleuterung.* By Paul Gueland. Carl Heymanns: Berlin, 1935. Pp. 200.

This work is a systematic presentation of the many stipulations and regulations relative to the German Inherited Freehold Law.

Although rigid specifications concerning the eligibility of a unit to become an "inherited freehold" do not exist, the following are their general characteristics:

1. Usually the units will range from 18.5 to 308.75 acres in size. The actual acreage varies with regions, the amount necessary to support a family being the determining factor.
2. The owner must be an efficient peasant, one capable of managing his holding satisfactorily.
3. He must be a citizen and of the "Aryan" race.
4. He must possess only one unit which is to be an "inherited freehold."

Land holdings which met these qualifications arbitrarily became "inherited freeholds" according to law. The routine by which other holdings may become "inherited freeholds" has also been prescribed. Local courts and a Reich Court have been established to administer the legal aspects of these newly established estates and to enter them in a "freehold register."

No "inherited freehold" may be sold or further encumbered without the consent of an "inherited freehold court," consisting of a judge and two peasants. Such a holding is no longer an economic good in the classical sense of the word. It is inalienable. The peasant can borrow money only on the basis of his own reputation for honesty and his capabilities, since real estate and agricultural property cannot be mortgaged. He cannot offer his real property as security.

Furthermore, an heir may be deprived of the landed estate if in the judgment of the provincial or Reich's peasant leader his management of the holding is unsatisfactory.

The "inherited freehold" cannot be divided before nor after the death of the possessor, but must pass intact and unmortgaged to certain prescribed heirs. As was the case in the ancient German kinship groups, at the death of the possessor, one son, or a son's son, inherits the entire estate. Whether the youngest or the oldest child shall inherit the property depends upon the custom of the area. Next in line are: first, the father; second, a brother, a nephew, or a great-nephew; third, a daughter, her son, or her son's sons; fourth, a sister, her son, or son's son. The landed estate which passes undivided to the single heir, includes all the property on the holding exclusive of buildings, furnishings, livestock, machinery, and other equipment used in the agricultural enterprise and for living by the family and employees on the holding. Wives are not legal heirs to the landed estate. However, heirs other than the one to whom the landed estate passes, have equal right to wealth which is not part of the estate. In addition, the heirs not inheriting the landed estate have the right to educational preparation to fit them for their future professions, in so far as the income from the estate justifies. They may return to the "freehold" in cases of emergency and find such refuge as the income of the estate warrants.

As early as 1810 Ernst Moritz Arnt, the poet of the War of Liberation, advocated legislation similar to that included in the New Land Inheritance Laws. He advocated the maintenance of a strong, free peasantry which would own at least one-half of all holdings. The holdings should be family-sized units which must always remain in the hands of a single family, and be inherited by one person in the family. No person should possess two such holdings, and land must not be a free economic good. The peasant should be freed from the *laissez faire* economy and Roman land laws.

The author shows that in the past, most of the provisions of the law have been customary. However, Arnt and the Old Germans who obeyed the practices of the times, had not been conscious of the importance of racial purity. The work is systematized according to the categories and the various concepts and phases of the inheritance freehold itself, the qualifications of the "peasant" (Bauer, only the owner of a Freehold can claim this title), the sequence of inheritance, the restrictions on sale, debt encumbrances, division, forced foreclosure and renting of the freehold, and the Freehold register are discussed and clarified. The succession of heirs of a freehold is diagrammatically portrayed.

*Elements of Rural Sociology.* By Newell L. Sims. Rev. ed. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1934. Pp. xv, 718.

Those who are familiar with Professor Sims' original work, *Elements of Rural Sociology*, will find several changes in the 1934 edition. Statistical data have been changed to conform with early releases from the 1930 census, a new chapter dealing with the social process in rural-urban civilization has been added, the chapters dealing with "The Structural Element" have been changed from last to second place in the book, and certain parts have been re-written. As it stands, the book is composed of five parts, an "Introduction" and comprehensive treatments of the "Structural," "Vital," "Cultural," and "Material Elements" in rural life.

In the Preface the author states that the viewpoint of the work is twofold. It involves a distinctive concept of sociology and society and an approach to country life partly from the angle of the urban dweller. In the Introduction, Professor Sims defines scientific sociology as the science of "the behavior of energy manifest in social forms" and sets forth, as the requirements of a pure science of sociology, the need for a clear concept of what society is, a clear concept of sociology, and more scientific knowledge. This is followed by a brief discussion of the ruralist versus the urbanist. Consciously or unconsciously, rural life is being measured and judged by the norms of urban groups, because they set the pace in the Great Society. In so far as rural sociology "continues to be a science of social adequacy," it will judge rural life in terms of the urban.

Following the Introduction are five chapters on the community and two on rural social organization, these chapters comprising the division entitled "The Structural Element." Four chapters dealing with population characteristics, composition, and movements comprise the division on "The Vital Element," and fifteen chapters on tradition, attitudes, institutions and the social process constitute Part IV, "The Cultural Element." Among the fifteen chapters are four on tradition and attitudes; two each covering the farm family and home, rural education and the rural school, and rural religion and the church; one on play and recreation; one on sanitation and health; and three on social process and change in the rural-urban social order. The last division, "The Material Element," includes a chapter on farmers' wealth and income and one on the farmer's standard of living.

The subject material is clearly and logically presented. The book contains more than seventy statistical tables and over eighty maps, photographic reproductions, graphs and charts. A selected bibliography is included with each chapter. All in all, Professor Sims has produced one of the best texts in the field of rural sociology as well as a valuable reference work for the general reader.

Though ventured purely as a personal opinion, the reviewer wishes to designate the chapters on "The Structural Element" as the outstanding part of the book. Within less than 150 pages, the author condenses extensive materials into



terse paragraphs, describing the village community as to origin and its development in Saxon and Norman England; the decline and present status of villages of ancient origin; the Russian village; Colonial agricultural communities; village communities in the West; the present-day rural community; the American village as a distinct type of social organization; and planned communities.

An excellent short chapter, entitled "The Country Village," carries the stamp of authoritativeness, not surprising to be sure, since it comes from the pen of the author of *A Hoosier Village* and *The Rural Community: Ancient and Modern*. Illustrative of the subject matter of this chapter, one may notice the treatment of a law of growth for villages in which occurs the following noteworthy generalization: "The real connection with the farms is not in the number of people, but in their standard of living, i.e., in the growth of wealth and the multiplication of wants. It is, therefore, probably not far wrong to say that the growth of the country villages depends upon the increase of local production and a rising standard of living on the farms."

The author's emphasis upon planned communities and the importance of Federal leadership in this field of activity is timely.

On the other hand, those sections dealing with farmers' coöperative organizations, and general organizations such as the Farm Bureau, might have been strengthened by the use of recent analytical studies as a basis for the subject matter of the text.

The division on "The Vital Element" adequately and briefly describes rural population as to numbers, classes, geographic distribution, increase and decrease, sex and age, ethnic elements, vitality, mental characteristics, and geographic mobility. The effects of population movements on rural society are discussed and remedial measures proposed.

By far the greatest part of the book is devoted to "The Cultural Element," traditions, attitudes, institutions, and rural-urban social processes. It is in this division that the emphasis upon social adequacy and the application of urban norms to rural life appears most markedly. Much space is given to "need," "betterment," and "improvement," while rural institutions and agencies are measured in terms of urban standards and yardsticks. This is done thoughtfully, however, as is well illustrated by the discussion of compulsory schooling (p. 503) and child labor in farming areas. Moreover, as hitherto indicated, this emphasis on reform and welfare is well balanced by an abundance of factual materials and consequent generalizations in the more restricted field of rural sociology.

This work stands between the earlier works in the field of rural sociology, which were chiefly concerned with the reform and improvement of rural life, and pure rural sociology, whose chief concern is the social process itself. The author takes the position that rural sociology must (for the time being at least)

serve as a science of social adequacy for rural life, while continuing to approximate a pure science.

University of Arizona

E. D. TETREAU

*Family and Society: A Study of the Sociology of Reconstruction.* By Carle C. Zimmerman and Merle E. Frampton. New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1935. Pp. xv, 611.

It would indeed be unfortunate if students of sociology were misled by the title of this volume into the belief that it is of interest only to specialists in family research. It is true that the primary concern of the authors is with the family, but not, as is so often the case, with the family as such. Rather, following LePlay, they regard the family as the basic social unit, through the intensive study of which the analyst may evaluate the adequacy or inadequacy of the culture in which it is an operative unit. So conceived, the concept of the family assumes the proportions of a well-rounded theory and method for the investigation and interpretation of society. As such, its fundamental hypotheses and methodological procedures merit the recognition and study of all who profess an interest in social theory or social research.

The authors have well described their work as "a brief for the application of theories similar to those held by LePlay to the study of social facts." In accord with this objective, they have developed in the first part of their treatise what might be called an orientation of the family to modern society. This is followed by a brief critical treatment of hypotheses which have been prominent in the study of family and society both in the past and in contemporary research. In brief, the gist of their argument in this section centers around a disclosure of the inadequacy of the evolutionary, functional, and companionate hypotheses for a realistic and practical study of the family in modern society, a plea for the further development of methods of investigation, and a preliminary exposition of the general characteristics and promise of the LePlay approach.

The second part is devoted to a detailed development of the theoretical and methodological contributions of LePlay. The inclusion of pertinent information concerning his life, temperament, training, and experience, together with a portrayal of social conditions in France and in Europe during his lifetime, greatly enhance the reader's understanding of the origin and nature of LePlay's thought.

Based upon the author's convictions of the importance of original research and thinking for constructive scientific work, the third part of the volume presents mainly a report and interpretation, from the LePlay point of view, of representative family types in the Ozark Highlands. By way of contrast to the close adherence of these Highlanders to a traditional way of life and a strong

"social constitution," the later chapters in this section are devoted to an analysis of the plight of uprooted families now bearing the brunt of the depression in New England industrial villages.

The fourth and last part of the book consists of an excellent (abridged) translation of the first volume of LePlay's *Les Ouvriers Europeens*, by Professor Dupertuis of Boston University. This translation, incorporated within the body of the treatise, might more properly have been appended to it, especially in view of the fact that its contents were extensively developed in an earlier section, mentioned above.

On the whole, the book suffers somewhat from poor organization, redundancy, and prolixity. This, however, detracts little from its basic challenge to several assumptions and hypotheses currently held as scientifically valid by many sociologists. It is not feasible, within the space of this review, to discuss them in the detail which they require for adequate treatment. At best, we can but mention a few respects in which this study represents a fundamental shift of approach in the scientific investigation of social life, as well as in the treatment of social problems, and leave the further investigation of their implications to the curiosity of the reader.

Broadly speaking, perhaps the most important challenge of this work lies in the fact that it is, essentially, an adventure into the realm of values. This is not to say that it is a treatise in ethics, that it in any way passes moral judgment upon the lives of the representative types which it studies, or that it is in the least concerned with religious connotations. It is, on the contrary, firmly grounded in scientific fact. It differs, however, from much contemporary work in that it recognizes and attaches importance to fundamental changes in the social psychology of families which are transplanted into different economic and social environments. This fact in itself would scarcely distinguish their work as unique were not the authors impelled by their almost complete acceptance of LePlay's social philosophy to establish certain psychological criteria for the evaluation of different types of social organization, and to proceed to interpret their investigations of families in rural and in urban environments in the light of these value-judgments. It is upon these latter developments that the claim of the authors to originality and freshness of treatment largely rests. It is in these respects that their work will challenge and stimulate further discussion, and doubtless too, provoke sharp differences of opinion.

Few would question the desirability of peaceful social relationships, of harmonious domestic arrangements, of social solidarity, or of an integrated and smoothly functioning societal structure. LePlay's temperament was rather more sensitively attuned than most to these desiderata, and he found little in the turbulence and confusion of post-revolutionary France that would meet these standards. As a consequence, he turned to the past and to certain pleasurable

associations of his childhood among the peasants and small villages of rural France for the source and inspiration of his social thought. It is not an exaggeration to assert that he unduly romanticized the Middle Ages and the virtues and spiritual contentment of the peasantry.

Throughout their work, the authors stress the necessity for a realistic and practical approach to social investigation. May we not suggest that to impute demoralization and social incapacity to an industrial relief population because it is reluctant to endorse wholeheartedly a garden project, is scarcely realism? Furthermore, is the hypothesis, that a wholesome family and social structure exist in this country today only in the Ozark Highlands, scientifically acceptable? In addition, can we endorse a scientific premise which assumes that an urban environment is socially undesirable, and that the poorest and least advanced of rural environments is socially the most satisfactory? Are we scientifically realistic when we admire meekness, docility and submission to authority in youth? Are we laying the foundation for constructive social research when we deplore, without qualification, the advances made since feudal times in science, technology, industry and social institutions? At any rate, considerable further thought and much additional research will be necessary to establish such theories on a secure scientific footing.

To many, the reading of this book will recall the timeworn controversies of objectivity versus subjectivity, of science versus social reform, but regardless of the reader's particular point of view upon these matters, he will find in this work a strong case for the recognition and study of the social-psychological factors in their relationship to social organization and social change.

University of Wisconsin

GEO. F. THERIAULT, E. L. KIRKPATRICK

*Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada.* By C. A. Dawson. Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1936. Pp. xx, 395. \$4.50.

This is the seventh in a series of nine volumes dealing with Canadian Frontiers of Settlement (edited by W. A. Mackintosh and W. L. G. Joerg) and summarizing the investigations of the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee. It deals with what is called "group settlement" on the frontier illustrated by the Doukhobors, the Mennonites, the "Mormons," the German Catholics and the French-Canadians. Each group is taken up according to its origin, its movement to the frontier, its conflict with other groups, its changes after contact with secular influences, its agricultural methods, and its present organization and standards of living. The general problem is that of finding what influence "group settlement" has had in the Prairie Provinces in contrast to the individual infiltration of persons and families to the region. It is essentially a case study of these five groups. No particular attention is given to the relative importance

of the two forms of settlement, other than a map indicating the regions settled by "groups" and a general statement that "group settlement . . . has been much in evidence in the prairie region." The conclusion is reached that group settlement, in contrast to individual settlement, leads to greater residential stability, productive efficiency, greater coöperative attack upon the problems of the frontier, the facilitation of social contacts, and the development of social institutions. The "separatist communities" aroused the antagonism of their more secular neighbors because of differences in language, in nationalism, in institutions, and in practices. Pressure was brought to bear through school, homestead and other regulations, to "Canadianize" these sectarian communities. This brought about strained relations between the *bloc* communities and their neighbors. In the past, and even today, sporadic conflict (*e.g.* civil warfare and rebellion) has resulted in the burning of schools, nudist demonstrations, and the imprisonment of many recalcitrant sectarians. However, commerce and trade brought about by the extension of the railway systems proved to be a greater "culturalizing" force than public regulation. As a result, "the distinctiveness of separatist colonies" has retreated rapidly under the great influence of "the inevitable tide" of *Gesellschaftism*.

This is a study of which the author and the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee may well be proud. It combines scientific insight with a practical application of realism and confronts sociological theory with empirical facts, a development which should be welcomed. However, the following criticisms are pertinent. The author is a devotee of Robert E. Park's theories of the "natural history of sects." In this work, too much attention is given to elaborating the natural history of sectarianism and too little to the recognition that agriculture itself is essentially a "way of life." Consequently, the author fails generally to point out that sectarianism in the Canadian communities is essentially a typological development of agriculturism *per se*, and that the decrease in the extreme sectarianism of these particular groups has also been associated with an increased development of the idea of a "way of life" among the other Canadian farmers. In the opinion of the reviewer, the author does not appreciate sufficiently the contribution to the agricultural settlement which has been made possible by these typological groups. In other words, the work dwells too much on "ecology," "cultural margins," and the "natural history of sects," and too little upon the theoretical analysis of the inner social characteristics of the agricultural community in general. This point comes out in particular where the author, in comparing the Mennonites with the French-Canadians (p. 365), adopts the assumption that stable settlement is the result of "adequate incomes." Such an hypothesis is contrary to the general thesis of the book, that the social characteristics of these "peculiar peoples" have, on the whole, enabled them to become masters of a good livelihood on what was a few years ago a rather desolate frontier. In other words, these peoples met the exigencies of a frontier in order

to have a "way of life" of their own. Becoming rich and prosperous was only an incidental fact, probably a result as much as a cause.

This point is important because today we are trying to settle the issue as to whether farming is a question of "adequate income" or a "way of life." Studies by E. A. Willson of North Dakota indicate that the American farmers who were most successful on the frontier of that state had a different familistic organization from those which were least successful. "Canadianization" may be "inevitable" in the Prairie Provinces, but the question as to whether it has led or will lead to greater "stability" is not yet answered. Thus, the author, a sociologist, accepts certain dogmas of economic determinism which are incongruous with the sociological facts presented in his treatise.

Harvard University

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

*A Plan for Regional Administrative Districts in the State of Washington.* By Selden Cowles Menefee. Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 1935. Pp. vii, 29-79.

To students interested in the several regional studies now under way in the various states of the Union, the Washington study entitled *A Plan for Regional Administration Districts in the State of Washington* as presented by Selden Cowles Menefee, will be a welcome piece of original research.

The introductory phase of this study in a very stimulating way lays the background for the movement towards regionalization that seems to be arousing interest throughout many parts of our country. In agreement with geographers, sociologists, and students of government, Mr. Menefee calls our attention to the fact that the American community used to be considered the basic unit for official organization, but that today our basic units have defaulted to state and federal governmental agencies in many of the former functions of local government. Hence the present trend in America seems more in the direction of "trade-center mindedness" instead of the former "community-center mindedness." He further defines a region as a constellation of communities with various activities and resources, and rightly suggests that in any attempt to regionalize a state by way of substituting larger regional units for the existing county units, geography should receive first consideration.

In order of importance he lists as criteria for the determination of regional boundaries (1) geography, (2) industry and resources, (3) population, (4) communication, (5) trade areas, and (6) other considerations. Upon such a basis he suggests a plan for the state of Washington whereby the existing 39 counties would be replaced by 12 regional districts. He suggests that the study of county finances indicates that each division should have a population of 30,000 or more in order to furnish fairly adequate services at a minimum per

capita cost, and that the regions be so arranged that all the inhabitants of each would be within a few hours drive by auto from the county seat or district center.

In conclusion, he suggests that the proposed plan should not be considered permanent or final, but should be considered the best plan for districting the state at present, and should be flexible enough so as to cope with future shifts in population, development of new resources, and the establishment of new avenues of communication.

From a geographer's standpoint, the chief weakness of this study is that the proposed plan conforms throughout to present state and county boundaries, despite their admitted illogical location. It should be designated a form of county consolidation and not a truly regionalization movement in keeping with the state's geographic base.

Brigham Young University

GEORGE H. HANSEN

*Southern Regions of the United States.* By Howard W. Odum. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Pp. xi, 664. \$4.00.

Of the newer approaches toward the solution of present-day social and economic problems, none holds greater promise than that of the emerging concept of regionalism. The time for its development is ripe, and the importance of its practical and theoretical implications can hardly be exaggerated. The present work constitutes the first major contribution to this new technique and will doubtless be used for some time to come as the basis and starting point in the attack on the many social problems to which the regional approach is applicable. In addition to its importance as a trail-blazer in a new scientific approach, the volume is a veritable storehouse of practical state information, lucidly presented and covering an almost unbelievably wide range of topics, all of which are synthesized into the development of the regional picture. The study utilizes more than 700 varied indices and some 600 maps, charts and tables by which it attempts for the first time, "a realistic and comprehensive picturization of the southern regional culture."

The volume is divided into three major parts, Part I presenting the general objectives of the study and a more or less summarized picture of the southern, as apart from the other regions of the nation. There are also chapters on "Sub-regions of the Southeast," "The Tennessee Valley," "The Southwest and the Southeast," and a concluding chapter entitled "Toward Regional Planning." Part II, the longer of the three parts, expands several of the subjects taken up in summary form in Part I and, in addition, analyzes a number of new factors which grow logically out of the first summarized statement. It also emphasizes the practical implications of regionalism for a program of social and economic planning. Part III comprises a statement of the plan of study, a bibliography

of books and magazine articles utilized in the work, a list of maps, charts and tables included in the volume, and a general index. In view of the comprehensiveness of the work, the latter is invaluable in locating the various items in the vast wealth of source material contained in the volume.

The publication was made possible by a special grant from the General Education Board to the Social Science Research Council, the latter functioning through the Southern Regional Committee. To Dr. Odum, appointed to take charge of the study, great credit is due not only for his success in the task of presenting a most complex and diverse mass of data, but also for his managerial ability in synthesizing the work of a number of the best social scientists in the South who coöperated with him in collecting and assembling these data. Although the reviewer found some difficulty in following the logic of presentation in the volume, such difficulty is obviously largely inherent in the nature of the material itself, rather than in its presentation. In addition to a possible rearrangement and combination of some of the materials, the value of the work might also be somewhat enhanced by a concise classification of the many indices used, together with the methods employed in weighting and selecting these indices for the various purposes at hand. In view of the tremendous task of assembling these data on the one hand, and the great strides which their presentation makes into a hitherto relatively undeveloped field on the other, the reviewer feels that indicating errors of a more or less minor nature is of such comparative unimportance as to be unworthy of space in this review. They are therefore dismissed as more or less necessary concomitants of pioneer work of this kind.

The great volume of social and economic data on the United States presented in this volume is an important contribution of materials. But of vastly more importance is the function which these materials have been given in contributing a technique for the delineation of regions and sub-regions. References to "regions" are certainly not new, but "regions" determined by anything approaching scientific accuracy are decidedly new. It is at this point that this volume makes its greatest contribution. Regionalism as conceived by Dr. Odum may be roughly understood as the definition of social areas of functional homogeneity for the purpose of research, analysis and action. An illustration may clarify the general technique involved in determining these regions. The text points out (p. 5) that, "one of the major contributions of the study is the working hypothesis of the relatively clear-cut differentiation between the older Southeast and the emerging Southwest . . ." One aspect of this, for example, is the determination of whether Louisiana and Arkansas, both west of the Mississippi, should be included in the Southeast or in the Southwest. The general procedure in this example involved three major steps: (1) The task of delimitation involving an appraisal of the traditional "South." (2) The appraisal of general historical and cultural factors within the traditional area of the South which, when applied,



showed that it was not sufficiently homogeneous to be characterized as a reality. (3) The application of various indices to the states or other subdivisions within the larger area for the purpose of determining the various areas of homogeneity. The actual indices employed in making these final determinations involved approximately 200 selected factors and in addition an appraisal of the general geographical, industrial and cultural conditions. Tested by these criteria, Louisiana and Arkansas qualify overwhelmingly with the Southeast as differentiated from the Southwest. Examples selected at random from the indices used are: per capita cost for each child in daily school attendance; students in universities, colleges, and professional schools; percentage of church membership; aggregate net income per capita; value of mineral products; death-rate per 1,000 population; per cent of farms having tractors; Federal aid to states; homicides per 1,000 population, etc. One of the more important basic assumptions underlying the selection of indices is that regions are essentially functional. Accordingly, considerable emphasis is attached to the selection of indices designed to measure the various social, economic, and cultural activities. Following the general method as stated in the above brief example, the United States has been divided into six basic regions: Southeast, Southwest, Far West, Northwest, Middle States and Northeast. The Southeast and Southwest have in turn been broken down and analyzed in terms of subregions. The field thus opened up, together with its revelation of the ground yet uncovered, is certain to focus a great deal of additional effort along these lines of study.

Although the greatest contributions of the volume are in the fields already mentioned, Dr. Odum's statements on regional planning for the South are worthy of much careful study. The reader is impressed with the need for such planning in the South as he notes statements at recurring intervals which reveal the tremendous discrepancies between present attainment and potentialities. The book indeed constitutes a distinct challenge to the South. The projected plans assume that undesirable conditions may best be ameliorated, not by treating the regions as isolated sections as in the old divisive sectionalism, but by close mutual coöperation between all regions, each strengthening and aiding the others.

Louisiana State University

HAROLD C. HOFFSOMMER

*County Finances in the State of Washington, with Particular Attention to the Financial Problems of County Welfare Activities and Unemployment Relief.* University of Washington Publications in Social Science, Vol. 5, Number 4. By Joseph P. Harris. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1935. Pp. vii, 217-374.

The law creating the Washington State Emergency Relief Administration required that counties should match state funds for unemployment relief, but

permitted exceptions to be made. "As many of the counties claimed that they were unable to match state and federal funds, this study was undertaken to make available comparative data on the financial status of the several counties." The present study is largely a compilation of official statistics showing such county data as population, area, assessed valuation, indebtedness, tax levies, tax collections, trend of county expenditures, cost of unemployment relief, and a summary analysis of the financial conditions for the four counties in the state with the largest relief loads.

Relief costs borne by local governmental units seem to be responsible for most of the counties' financial troubles. Urban counties on the West Coast, dependent largely upon the lumber industry and with large relief loads, have suffered materially under a policy of considering relief a local government matter. The majority of agricultural counties in the state of Washington seem to have fared better financially than the urban counties. The author's summary for one of the lumbering counties on the West Coast seems to substantiate such a statement. "Probably no county in the state is in worse financial shape than Grays Harbor County. Assessments have dropped very markedly; tax collections are poor; outstanding warrants are nearly twice what the county may expect in receipts from a ten-mill levy, and the total bonded and warrant debt of the county is almost five per cent. It is difficult to see how the county can carry on. Many county functions will have to be discontinued, and all welfare activities will have to be reduced very drastically."

A set of ten recommendations, most of which require legislative action, are included in the summary. The chief value of a study of the type reported in this publication is to portray conditions in local government that need correction, and to get before the officials and legislature of the state a systematic presentation of the facts and the need for local government reform.

Cornell University

ROBERT A. POLSON

# News Notes and Announcements

*American Sociological Society.*—The following letter from H. P. Fairchild, President of the American Sociological Society, will be of interest to all readers of *Rural Sociology*.

New York City,  
May 1, 1936.

DEAR PROFESSOR NELSON:

Hearty congratulations on the initial number of *Rural Sociology*! The magazine makes a fine appearance, and while I have not yet had time to read all the articles, they appear to be well chosen and scholarly. Here's wishing long life and increasing success and influence to the new journal.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) H. P. FAIRCHILD.

Professor Lowry Nelson,  
Resettlement Administration,  
Washington, D. C.

*Columbia University.*—Beginning February 1, 1936, a joint project of Columbia University, the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and the Rural Research Unit of the Works Progress Administration undertook a study of the social effects of the depression on village-centered farming communities.

The two Federal agencies are caring for about fifty per cent of the field work. The Council for Research in the Social Sciences of Columbia University is responsible for the administration, tabulation, balance of the field work, and write-up of the results. The field projects selected are the 140 villages surveyed initially in 1923-24 by the Institute for Social and Religious Research, and again in 1930 by that agency and the Hoover Social Trends Committee. Dr. Edmund deS. Brunner of Columbia University is directing the study as he did the previous ones. Dr. Irving Lorge of Columbia is the assistant director. Dr. Conrad Taeuber is representing the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life in the study.

With the assistance of a grant from the American Council of Education's Youth Commission, a census enumeration will be conducted in about two-fifths of the villages.

It is hoped that the report of the study will be ready for the press by the end of the present year.

*Connecticut State College.*—The New England Research Council, which in the past has consisted quite largely of economists, recently appointed a Committee on Rural Sociology. N. L. Whetten was appointed chairman of the Committee, with C. C. Zimmerman of Harvard University and W. R. Gordon of Rhode Island State College, as the other members. The purpose of the Committee is to promote, coördinate, and critically evaluate research in rural sociology in New England.

Edward C. Devereux, Jr., and Walter C. McKain, Jr., graduate assistants in the Department of Sociology at Connecticut State College, have been granted assistantships in the Department of Sociology at Harvard University for the coming year. They plan to continue their graduate work towards their doctorates.

Professor J. L. Hypes is on leave of absence during the second semester and is traveling in South Africa and Australia. He plans to return sometime in June.

*Cornell University.*—Dr. W. A. Anderson has been advanced to a full professorship in the Department of Rural Social Organization, New York State College of Agriculture, at Cornell University.

Mr. Edwin Losey, recently assistant supervisor of rural research in the Iowa Relief Administration, and Mr. Duane L. Gibson, who has been assistant supervisor of rural research under the F.E.R.A. in New York State, have been appointed as graduate assistants in the Department of Rural Social Organization at Cornell University, effective October 1.

*Harvard University.*—Professor Corrado Gini, University of Rome, is a visiting lecturer in Sociology at Harvard University this spring. He will remain this summer for the Harvard Tercentenary Conference of Arts and Sciences, where he will lecture on "Authority and the Individual During the Different States of Evolution of the Nations."

Professors Robert E. Park and F. Stuart Chapin, well-known for their friendly interest in rural sociology, will teach at the Harvard Summer School.

Professor David Rozman, Massachusetts State College, has taken over the direction of research on rural problems, which the Emergency Planning Board of Massachusetts is conducting.

Dr. Antonín Obrdlík, Masaryk University, Brno, Czechoslovakia, is at Harvard University this spring and summer on a research fellowship from the Rockefeller Foundation.

Dr. Richard Schanck, Instructor and Tutor in Psychology, Harvard University, is going to England this summer to make a study of Harwell, Berkshire. This is a study of the social psychology of a rural village.

John H. Useem, research assistant, Harvard University, and assistant state supervisor of rural research for the W.P.A. of Massachusetts, has accepted a fellowship in Rural Sociology at the University of Wisconsin for next year. He also is going to England in August to assist Dr. Schanck for a short time.

Lyman H. Ziegler, graduate student and research assistant at Harvard University, has an assistantship at Duke University for the coming year.

Karl Shafer, graduate student and fellow at Harvard University, will be a special investigator in the Division of Rural Resettlement, Resettlement Administration, Washington, D. C., this summer.

Mrs. Clyde Kluckhohn has a fellowship from Radcliffe to study a rural village in New Mexico for her Ph.D. thesis next year.

Gordon T. Bowden, Harvard '37, will spend the summer studying the family in Silver City, New Mexico. An analysis of the historical and racial background of the present inhabitants will be presented as his A.B. thesis next year.

Arthur K. Davis, Harvard '37, will make a sociological study this summer of Calais, Vermont, for his A.B. thesis next year.

Professor Carle C. Zimmerman's work, *Consumption and Standards of Living*, will be published by D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., in June.

*Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, by P. A. Sorokin and C. C. Zimmerman, is being brought out in a Japanese edition by Professor Rikuhei Imori of Tottori Agricultural College, Tottori, Japan.

*Iowa State College.*—The Second Annual Country Life Institute at Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa, June 22-24, has as its theme for 1936, "The Mid-West in American Life." The Institute will deal with such phases of that general theme as:

Is the Mid-West dependent upon other sections of the country for its prosperity? Are other sections dependent upon it?

How sound are the political and economic ideas which are gaining ground in the Mid-West? Do they constitute a desirable contribution to American thinking?

What contributions is the Mid-West making to the social and cultural life of the nation? What are the limitations of its social and cultural life?

How adequate is Mid-Western philosophy; Mid-Western education?

To bring out the details of those questions and provide a background for discussion, J. E. Foster, Dean of the Iowa State College Summer Quarter and Chairman of the Institute Committee, has scheduled the following speakers: George S. Counts, educational sociologist, Teachers College, Columbia Uni-

versity; Zona Gale, authoress, Portage, Wisconsin; Rudolph Ganz, pianist, conductor and composer, President, Chicago Musical College; Toyohiko Kagawa, leader in Japanese religious and coöperative movements; Edwin G. Nourse, Director, Institute of Economics, Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.; Elmer T. Peterson, Editor, *Better Homes and Gardens*, Des Moines, Iowa; Mary Swartz Rose, nutritionist, Teachers College, Columbia University; T. V. Smith, Professor of Philosophy, University of Chicago, Chicago, and State Senator from the Fifth District in Illinois; W. W. Waymack, Associate Editor, the *Register*, Des Moines, Iowa; and George S. Wehrwein, Professor of Economics, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

Each address by one of the principal speakers will be followed by a conference, with discussion by those in attendance. Approximately 150 leaders of rural life in the Mid-West will serve as associate leaders of these conferences which will be led by members of the Iowa State College staff.

Programs are available from Dean Foster.

*University of Kiel.*—Sociologists in all countries will be saddened to learn of the death of Professor Ferdinand J. Tönnies, dean of German sociologists, who died in Kiel, Germany, April 14, 1936. Dr. Tönnies, who has been teaching sociology at the University of Kiel since 1881, was born July 26, 1855. He studied at the universities in Jena, Leipzig, Bonn, Berlin, Kiel, and Tuebingen.

In America, Professor Tönnies was best known for his *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, first published in 1887. The seventh edition was published in 1925.

Professor Tönnies was a frequent contributor to scientific journals, and he published a large number of books. Among them are *Kritik der öffentlichen Meinung*, 1922; *Soziologische Studien und Kritik*, 1925; and *Einführung in die Soziologie*. All of these found many American readers.

Professor Tönnies was formerly president of the German Sociological Society. He was also a member of the International Institute of Sociology, a corresponding member of the Sociological Society of London, and an honorary member of the Japanese Sociological Society and the American Sociological Society.

*University of Kentucky.*—More than a hundred rural leaders attended one or more of the sessions of the second annual six-day short course for town and country pastors and lay leaders, which was held at the University of Kentucky under the sponsorship of the College of Agriculture and the Kentucky Rural Church Council, the week of April 20 to 25. About one-fourth of this number were in attendance throughout the week.

*Louisiana State University.*—Professor P. A. Sorokin of Harvard University gave a series of three lectures at Louisiana State University this spring.

During the coming summer E. A. Schuler will serve as consultant on the study of land-tenure problems being undertaken by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, U. S. D. A., and the Rural Resettlement Division, Resettlement Administration.

Professor C. C. Zimmerman of Harvard University will teach at the Louisiana State University Summer Session again this year.

Harold C. Hoffsommer is beginning a study of Landlord-Tenant Relations in Louisiana. He also is serving as collaborator on the Resettlement Administration's study of Coffee County, Alabama.

Fred C. Frey will spend the summer studying social conditions in Europe. His itinerary includes the Scandinavian countries and Russia.

T. Lynn Smith will teach courses in rural sociology at Brigham Young University this summer.

*University of Maryland.*—The rural social research program of the University of Maryland at present consists chiefly of coöperative projects being undertaken with the Rural Research Unit of the Works Progress Administration. T. B. Manny is State Director of Rural Research, assisted by H. G. Clowes who formerly did the same type of work in Pennsylvania.

Also included in the work of the Department of Sociology is a coöperative project of rural sociological extension, which at the present time includes chiefly an attempt to get at the needs and problems of older rural young people as a basis for developing extension activities for their particular needs.

*Michigan State College.*—On May 9 the Fourth Annual Michigan Collegiate Country Life Conference will be held at Michigan State Normal College, Ypsilanti.

The Department of Sociology is coöperating with the Works Progress Administration in a study of changes in relief in a state sample of eleven counties, and also with Dr. Brunner in the resurvey of American villages.

Other research projects in progress or nearing completion are as follows: (1) Case Studies of Rural Communities; (2) Rural Weekly Newspapers in Relation to Community Development; (3) Changes in the Population of Michigan Since 1930; (4) Standards of Living of Farm Families.

The Annual Institute for Social Workers, under the auspices of the Department of Sociology, will be held at the College during the week of July 13-17.

*University of Minnesota.*—The Division of Rural Sociology in Minnesota is coöperating with the Works Progress Administration and Resettlement Adminis-

tration on several projects. Dr. E. L. Kirkpatrick of the University of Wisconsin is in charge of these studies on behalf of the Resettlement Administration. The first study might be styled a socio-economic inventory of the rural areas in the three states, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan.

Next in point of interest is the study of the Beltrami Island Resettlement Project. The first part of this study will portray the social and economic background of the settlers who have been moved from the sub-marginal forest areas of northern Minnesota into the better areas in the same region. Charles P. Loomis of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, U. S. Department of Agriculture, R. W. Murchie of the University of Minnesota, and Skuli H. Rutford, Director of Rural Rehabilitation in Minnesota are coöperating in the supervision of this project.

A study of mobility and a fairly extensive study of comparative standards of living have also been initiated. These are under the direction of Mr. Chester R. Wasson, Assistant Supervisor of Rural Research in Minnesota.

The Division of Rural Sociology will issue in June an Experiment Station *bulletin* on trends in the rural population within the state.

*Montana State College.*—The Department of Agriculture, Montana State College, is publishing a series of *bulletins* under the main title *Readjusting Montana's Agriculture*. Among the *bulletins* in the series will be "Population Resources and Prospects," and another, "Land Ownership and Tenure." The main purpose of the series is to make available to the farm population, through the Extension Division, materials gathered by the College and other research agencies.

*Ohio State University.*—A report entitled, "The Trend of Births, Deaths, Natural Increase and Migration in the Rural Population of Ohio" is ready for distribution. The authors are C. E. Lively and C. L. Folse. The study, which was done coöperatively with the F.E.R.A., is published as *Mimeographed Bulletin No. 87* of the Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station.

The Ohio Sociological Society held its twelfth annual meeting on the campus at Ohio State University, April 24-25. The places on the program were filled largely by the more youthful members of the Society and by newcomers to the state. Professor J. A. Quinn of the University of Cincinnati was the retiring President and Professor A. A. Johnston of the College of Wooster is the president-elect. S. C. Newman, Ohio State University, is secretary-treasurer.

*Purdue University.*—Extension rural sociologists in the North Central States met at Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana, March 19-21, 1936 in a conference



which was of sociological significance from several standpoints. The meetings were planned and conducted as a series of group discussions. Dealing with the general question, "What is the place of rural sociology in a state extension program?" sociological aspects such as origin and growth of the work, type and form of projects, relationships and organization of programs and function of workers were given consideration. There was apparent agreement that extension programs in rural sociology are increasingly similar, and extension rural sociologists are functioning not only as group specialists but as members of a group making consistent contributions to agriculture and rural life.

Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Ohio and Wisconsin each have one or more workers engaged in rural sociology extension. Four other North Central states which have started or are planning work of a similar character were represented at the conference—Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky and Missouri. Reports of experiences and projects indicate that rural sociology in coöperative extension work is taking on the character of a three-fold program.

1. *Rural Organization* which involves community planning; work with farmers' organizations and rural institutions; conferences for rural leaders; and services to groups and individuals contributing to more effective group effort in rural life.
2. *Home and community activities* which include creative leisure-time programs for home and community groups, and supply enriching cultural experiences for rural people.
3. *Sociological service* that is supplied through conferences and Committee work and interpretations of rural-life studies. It is a service which emphasizes certain techniques bearing upon group adjustment. The democratic process of analyzing and projecting "collective forethought" is its special concern.

In this conference, extension sociologists from the North Central States had the help of leaders from the Federal office of extension work, B. L. Hummel of Virginia, National Chairman of Extension Rural Sociologists, and the heads of two departments of rural sociology, Dr. C. E. Lively of Ohio State University and Dr. E. L. Morgan of the University of Missouri.

*University for Rural Studies, Brno, Czechoslovakia.*—Dr. Antonín Obrdlík of Brno, Czechoslovakia, who is at present a Rockefeller visiting scholar in the United States, informs us of an important development in Czechoslovakia.

Czechoslovakian sociological studies have always given considerable attention to the scientific aspects of rural life, but we may now expect a more extensive evolution of this special part of sociology. Very recently the first Czechoslovakian chair in rural sociology has been established. This is at the University

for Rural Studies in Brno. Dr. Tomáš Cep, Vysoká Skola Zemedelská, Brno, Czechoslovakia, has been appointed as lecturer.

*Rutgers University.*—The newly established Department of Rural Sociology in the New Jersey State College of Agriculture at Rutgers University looks forward to the gradual establishment of research, teaching and extension work. Research is beginning under the plan for coöperative rural research with Miss Jeannette Walton as Assistant State Supervisor. A preliminary analysis of rural relief cases is now in progress. The teaching program will include a course in Rural Sociology for seniors in agriculture and a course in Rural Organizations. These courses will be taught by Howard W. Beers. First emphasis in the extension program is being placed on the study of rural young men and women, and the development of an experimental youth program in four counties. J. C. Hutchinson, Jr., has been attached to the department to assist with this program.

*University of Tennessee.*—Under the coöperative plan of rural research in Tennessee, twelve *Mimeographed Bulletins* dealing with relief and other rural problems have been published. These have been prepared by Professor Allred with the assistance of Messrs. Matthews, Luebke, Tosch, Smith, Fitzgerald, Collins, Atkins, Cotton, Mason, Marshall, Sanders, Baker, Raskoff, and Hendrix.

Benjamin D. Raskoff, a graduate of Montana and former graduate student at Oregon, has been appointed Research Assistant in Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, University of Tennessee.

William E. Hendrix has resigned as Research Assistant in Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, University of Tennessee, and has accepted a position as Assistant Analyst under the coöperative plan of rural research. Mr. Hendrix is now working on a study of the effect of soil fertility on rural standards of living.

*Washington State College.*—*Emergency Relief in Washington, with Special Attention to Characteristics of Rural Relief Households*, by Paul H. Landis and Mae Pritchard, a publication sponsored by the State College of Washington in coöperation with the Division of Research, Statistics, and Finance of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and the Washington State Department of Public Welfare, went to press in April.

"Population Trends in Washington, a Graphic Summary," an *Experiment Station Bulletin*, went to press in May.

A survey of the supply and demand of farm labor in the Yakima Valley, the principal fruit-growing district in the state of Washington, has been in progress since July, 1935. A preliminary bulletin will go to press June 1, summarizing

findings up to January 4, 1936. The project is designed to obtain a complete labor history of 400 farms over a period of one year. Schedules are also being used to obtain occupational and mobility characteristics of transient laborers employed on the farm.

*University of Wisconsin.*—J. H. Kolb has accepted a position as director of the Citizens' Committee on Public Welfare, appointed by the governor of the state. The work will be done on a part-time arrangement with the University during the summer and the fall semester.

# Books Received

- County Finances in the State of Washington.* By Joseph P. Harris. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1935. Pp. vii, 271-374.
- A Program For Land Use in Northern Minnesota.* By Oscar B. Jesness and Reynolds I. Nowell. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1935, Pp. xvi, 338. \$2.50.
- County Library Service in the South.* By Louis R. Wilson and Edward A. Wight. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936. Pp. xv, 259.
- Rural Sociology.* By John Morris Gillette. Third Edition. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. Pp. xxxiv, 778. \$4.50.
- Libraries of the South.* By Tommie Dora Barker. Chicago: American Library Association, 1936. Pp. xvi, 215. \$1.75.
- The Movable School Goes to The Negro Farmer.* By Thomas Monroe Campbell. Tuskegee: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1936. Pp. xiv, 170. \$2.00.
- Population Problems.* By Warren S. Thompson. Revised Edition. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1935. Pp. xi, 500.
- Chile: Land and Society.* By George McCutchen McBride. New York: American Geographical Society, 1936. Pp. xxii, 408.
- A Plan For Regional Administrative Districts in the State of Washington.* By Selden Cowles Menefee. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1935. Pp. vii, 29-79.
- Economics of the Farm Business.* By Theodor Brinkmann. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1935. Pp. x, 172. \$2.00.
- Southern Regions of the United States.* By Howard W. Odum. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Pp. xi, 664. \$4.00.
- The Dairy Industry and the A. A. A.* By John D. Black. Washington: The Brookings Institution, Publication No. 64, 1936. Pp. 520. \$3.00
- Social Reform in Norway.* By John Eric Nordskog. Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1935. Pp. vii, 184.
- Elements of Rural Sociology.* By Newell L. Sims. Revised Edition. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1934. Pp. xv, 718.

- Family and Society. A Study of the Sociology of Reconstruction.* By Carle C. Zimmerman and Merle E. Frampton. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1935. Pp. xv, 611.
- Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada.* By C. A. Dawson. Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1936. Pp. xx, 395. \$4.50.
- Southern Population and Social Planning.* Southern Policy Papers No. 1. By T. J. Woofter, Jr. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Pp. 10.
- Social Security for Southern Farmers.* Southern Policy Papers No. 2. By H. C. Nixon. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Pp. 8.
- Social Legislation in the South.* Southern Policy Papers No. 3. By Charles W. Pipkin. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Pp. 42.
- How The Other Half Is Housed.* Southern Policy Papers No. 4. By Rupert B. Vance. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Pp. 16.
- Industrial Social Security in The South.* Southern Policy Papers No. 5. By Robin Hood. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Pp. 22.
- The Southern Press Considers The Constitution.* Southern Policy Papers No. 6. By Francis P. Miller. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Pp. 28.
- The TVA and Economic Security In The South.* Southern Policy Papers No. 7. By T. Levron Howard. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Pp. 11.
- The Courts and Public-School Property.* By Harold P. Punke. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935. Pp. xvi, 313.
- Is Industry Decentralizing?* By Daniel B. Creamer. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935. Pp. xii, 105.

# *Rural Sociology*



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# Real and Apparent Exceptions to the Uniformity of a Lower Natural Increase of the Upper Classes

Corrado Gini

THE DIFFERENTIAL natural increase of the social classes—more rapid in the lower classes, slower, if not actually negative, in the upper classes—constitutes a basic phenomenon of our social organization. The social metabolism derived from it assures the renewal of the directing classes and characterizes, by its varying intensity, the successive phases of the evolution of populations.<sup>1</sup> Thence follow consequences of fundamental importance in the anthropological, economic, social, and political fields, but it is not our intention here to pause over such consequences for they have already been repeatedly explained.<sup>2</sup> On the contrary, we intend to consider briefly some of the real or apparent

Corrado Gini, one of the world's leading authorities on demography, is professor of statistics and sociology at the University of Rome. The bulk of this article is translated from a paper presented at the International Congress of Sociology at Brussels, August 25-29, 1935. Cf. *La sezione italiana dell'Istituto Internazionale di Sociologia al Congresso di Bruxelles*, 25-29 Agosto, 1935 (Rome: Comitato italiano per lo studio dei problemi della popolazione, 1935), XIII, 166-83. All of section 4 and substantial parts of sections 5 and 13 represent additions made by the author. *Rural Sociology* and the author are greatly indebted to Dr. Robert K. Merton for the translation.

<sup>1</sup> Cf., in particular, my writings: "Il diverso accrescimento delle classi sociali e la concentrazione della ricchezza," *Giornale degli Economisti*, January, 1909, especially paragraph XII; *I fattori demografici dell'evoluzione delle nazioni* (Rome: Biblioteca del 'Metron,' 1912), especially pp. 34 ff.; *L'ammontare e la composizione della ricchezza delle nazioni* (Rome: Biblioteca del 'Metron,' 1914), p. 429; "The cyclical Rise and Fall of Populations," *Population* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930), pp. 19 ff.; *Nascita, evoluzione e morte delle nazioni* (Rome: Biblioteca del 'Metron,' 1930), pp. 23 ff.; *Le basi scientifiche della politica della popolazione* (Rome: R. Università, Istituto di Statistica, 1931), pp. 255-56, 258-63; *Prime linee di patologia economica* (Milan: Giuffrè, 1935), pp. 124-25.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., "Il diverso accrescimento," paragraphs XI-XIV; *I fattori demografici*, pp. 30 ff.; *L'ammontare e la composizione*, pp. 429-31; *Le basi scientifiche*, pp. 245-63.



exceptions presented by our society to the aforesaid uniformity of differential increase of the social classes, as well as the existence or non-existence of this uniformity in forms of social organization which differ from ours.

2. As is well known, the differential natural increase depends upon a lower birth-rate among the upper classes which is not fully compensated for by their lower death-rate. It is necessary to ascertain the causes of both of these phenomena in order to account for exceptions to the rule.

The lower birth-rate of the upper classes depends upon their lower marriage-rate, higher age at marriage (which leads to a longer duration of the generation), and a smaller average number of children per marriage. Such phenomena can, in turn, be reduced to social or external factors and to biological or internal factors.<sup>3</sup>

The social factors depend upon the advantages of celibacy, or of a restricted family, accruing to the individual in our society. Two consequences follow from this: first, that those who are less inclined to matrimony, or are less fertile, have a greater probability of rising in the social scale. Second, that those who themselves wish to ascend, to have their children ascend, or at least to secure for their children the social position which they themselves have attained, tend to limit the number of their children.<sup>4</sup> Preventive checks on the increase of population derived from the limitation of physical subsistence act less upon

<sup>3</sup> Cf. "The Cyclical Rise and Fall," pp. 21-24; *Nascita, evoluzione e morte*, pp. 24-26; *Prime linee di patologia economica*, pp. 105-6, 109-10; *Il sesso dal punto di vista statistico* (Rome: Biblioteca del 'Metron,' 1908), pp. 455-60; "Contributi statistici ai problemi dell'Eugenica," in *Rivista Italiana di Sociologia*, May-June, 1912, pp. 380-83; published also in English under the title, "The contributions of demography to eugenics," *Problems in Eugenics*, II (London: The Eugenics Education Society, 1913).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *I fattori demografici*, p. 42; "The Cyclical Rise and Fall," pp. 23-25; *Nascita, evoluzione e morte*, pp. 24-25. See also the paper presented by Professor V. Castrilli to this same Congress on "L'origine sociale degli studenti, contributo allo studio del ricambio sociale," pp. 12-14, which provides interesting data in this connection. It appears from these data relative to Germany that the families from which the students come are smaller when they belong to the lower classes. In Italy, on the contrary, according to an inquiry completed at the University of Padua, the average number of brothers among students coming from the lower classes is not smaller, but even greater, than among students coming from the upper classes.

the propertied classes because of their greater wealth. However, the preventative checks derived from the action of what may be called psychological subsistence assume greater importance among these classes.<sup>5</sup>

It would seem that the biological factors depend upon the fact that the stocks from which the population results present an evolution through internal forces; an evolution in which, however, not all stocks proceed synchronously. The upper classes are constituted in greater proportion of the more precocious stocks; and, since the evolution is characterized by a progressive reduction of the reproductive powers of single stocks and, at least up to a certain point, by a progress of personal qualities of their components, the upper classes, as a result, are individually superior, either from the intellectual and moral or from the physical viewpoint, but inferior from the standpoint of reproductive powers. Only in the last evolutive stage does the progress of personal qualities give place, always or occasionally, to decadence. Those stocks of the upper classes which, because of their slight reproductivity become almost extinct, then become inferior also from the personal standpoint. This may become the situation of all the upper classes whenever the renewal of their blood with elements coming from the lower classes is impeded.

The theory of evolution through internal forces thus leads us to expect that the upper classes, considered *en masse*, should become more robust, and for that reason, should be endowed with a lower death-rate than the lower classes, save for the senescent stocks among which mortality should often tend to be greater. The action of social selection appears to tend toward the same result, inasmuch as the more robust stocks have, under equal conditions, a greater probability of giving rise to individuals destined to triumph in social competition. From these, then, would the upper classes be principally recruited. On the other hand, the less intense natural selection to which the more wealthy classes are subject exercises a contrary effect and this, being prolonged for many generations, may also become prevalent. Generally, however,

<sup>5</sup> Cf., in particular, "Le leggi di evoluzione della popolazione," *Economia*, December, 1924; *Patologia economica*, pp. 5-6; *Le basi scientifiche*, pp. 212-15.

the biological factors increasing the death-rate of the upper classes may, in their totality, be regarded as of secondary significance as compared with the environmental factors—such as better nourishment, a more comfortable existence, a more effective prevention, and a more energetic defense against pathogenic agents—which by themselves may suffice to determine a lower death-rate of the upper classes. In fact, except in extreme cases, environmental factors seem to prevail over the unfavorable action of less intense natural selection and of biological senescence.

3. Inexact methods of calculation may give rise to the impression that exceptions to the uniformity of differential increase of the social classes occur where in reality they do not.

This error arises whenever, as is frequently the case,<sup>6</sup> the judgment of the comparative increase of the social classes is based on the average number of children per marriage or on the average number of children surviving until adulthood. Certainly such an average number is an important element in such comparisons, but it is not the only one. In addition to the average number of children per marriage, or of children who attain adulthood, it is necessary to take account of the probability of marriage for children attaining adulthood and of the duration of the generation. Each of these factors may in turn be subdivided into several others. One may establish the following classification:

- A. Average number per marriage of children who attain adulthood
  - a) average number of children per fertile marriage
  - b) frequency of sterile marriages
  - c) percentage of offspring who attain adulthood
- B. Probability of marriage for those who attain adulthood
  - a) law of survival of adults
  - b) probability of marriage at each age
- C. Average duration of a generation
  - a) average age at marriage
  - b) average interval between marriage and the birth of a child

<sup>6</sup> Cf. in this connection, "The Cyclical Rise and Fall," pp. 35-36; *Nascita, evoluzione e morte*, note on pp. 33-34. For another example of a greater number of children in wealthy than in poor classes, cf. C. C. Zimmerman and P. C. Vaidhyakara: "A Demographic Study of 8 Oriental Villages Yet Largely Untouched by Western Culture," *Metron*, XI (1934) esp. pp. 193-8. See also P. A. Sorokin: *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1928), pp. 549 ff.

Of these, the factors  $a$  and  $b$  in category A; the factor  $b$  in category B; and the factor  $a$  in category C tend, as a rule, to cause a greater increase of the lower classes. On the contrary, the factor  $c$  in category A; the factor  $a$  in category B; and the factor  $b$  in category C tend, as a rule, to cause a greater increase of the upper classes. In each of the three categories A, B, and C, however, the factors favorable to the greater increase of the lower classes generally prevail so that for the most part the groups of factors A, B, and C are all three favorable to a greater increase of the lower classes.

It may occur, however, as has been recognized by some authors, that sometimes the average number of children ( $A, a$ ) or, even more so, the average number of children attaining adulthood ( $A$ ), is greater in the upper classes. But this does not necessarily imply that the increase of the upper classes is greater, since the probability of an adult not marrying ( $B$ ) and the duration of a generation ( $C$ ) are, as a rule, higher for these classes. If, for example, the average number of children who attain adulthood is four for the upper classes and three for the lower classes, the difference would be offset by the probability of an adult marrying being 60 per cent among the upper classes and 80 per cent among the lower. Or, it could be compensated for by the duration of a generation being 33 years for the upper and 25 for the lower classes. Or, compensation could be effected by the probability of marriage for an adult being 70 per cent and the duration of a generation being 33 years among the upper classes, with the figures for the lower classes being 80 per cent and 28 years, respectively.

4. Other apparent exceptions to the uniformity of differential increase may arise from inexact methods, not of measuring the increase, but of distinguishing between the social classes.

This may be the case when the distinction between the social classes is based upon income. Income is, to be sure, a very important factor in social standing, but it depends also upon other circumstances which are not independent of the number of children, such as the length of the career of the individual, family allowances, and the energy exercised in occupational pursuits.

At the beginning of their careers, the members of the upper classes have, naturally, a lower income than later in their lives, and likewise they also have a smaller number of children, as their reproduction is not complete, indeed often has scarcely begun. Hence, it is hardly surprising if income statistics show a smaller average number of children for the people in the lowest-income categories. After a certain point, however, this circumstance ceases to have a decisive influence and then the average number of children decreases with the decrease in income. I have already presented data showing such tendencies for Germany, Denmark, and Norway.<sup>7</sup> It is also to be expected that the said circumstance be much less important for the workers, who reach their maximum output and income at a very early age, than for the intellectual classes, whose training and career are much more prolonged.

In order to avoid the disturbing factor of the length of career it is necessary to classify individuals not only according to the amount of income but also according to age, a procedure which is not always practicable. I was able to eliminate the influence of age in the case of Norway, but even then the lower average number of children for the lowest income classes persisted, showing that other factors were involved.

Where employees receive a family allowance or grant which increases with the number of children, the total salary, other things being equal, is higher for the larger families. Consequently, other things being equal, the number of children is greater in families with higher salaries. When other circumstances act strongly in an opposite direction, it may well be that the effect of this circumstance is not apparent. But when a differential increase of the various social classes or of the various economic categories of the same class does not exist or is not pronounced, this effect may become prominent, giving the impression of a positive correlation between income and number of children. Family

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *L'ammontare e la composizione*, pp. 464-6 and 670-4, and also my preface to the work of Dr. De Meo, "Distribuzione della ricchezza e composizione demografica in alcune città dell'Italia Meridionale alla metà del sec. XVIII," *Annali di Statistica*, Serie VI, XIX (1931).

allowances are adopted in many countries for public employees; in some, for employees in private enterprise as well; seldom, for manual laborers. So this circumstance, also, has a disturbing effect which is more serious for the intellectual than for the laboring classes.

In order to avoid this effect, it is necessary to classify employees, not according to their total salaries, but according to their base salary without considering family allowances.

Another circumstance, similar in its effects but of wider application and probably of more importance, derives from the influence that the number of children exercises upon the income of the family through the intensity of work of its members.

Where there are many children, it is more likely that some of them will contribute their earnings to the income of the family. Moreover, in spite of the heavier familial cares, the wife is perhaps more frequently obliged to engage in extra-household work.

In order to eliminate the disturbing influence of these factors, it is necessary to classify families according to the income of the head, without considering the supplementary contributions of the other members.

But even after such corrections, there still remains a disturbing factor. This results from the fact that, in order to enjoy the same economic and social conditions found among small families, the father of many children must receive a higher income. This is usually attained, at least in some measure, by practicing his profession more energetically or by being more industrious and diligent in his job (it has often been recognized by employers that fathers of the larger families are the best employees) or by doing some extra work.

It should be remarked that the disturbing influence of this factor as well is likely to be greater for the intellectual than for the laboring classes, because the work done by the latter is less elastic in respect to quantity and quality. Hence, the income of laborers is less apt to be increased by their greater energy and industry. Similarly, the dependence of the relative contribution to the total income by members of the family upon the sheer number of children seems to be more important

in the case of the intellectual than in that of the laboring classes, since among the latter it is the rule that, irrespective of the size of family, the wife and children work whenever possible.

This influence of the size of family upon income may provide an alternative explanation for the results of some researches discussed by Lorimer and Osborn.<sup>8</sup> According to them, the farm families of 11 American states show a pronounced negative relationship between the number of children and value of the house, but no apparent relationship between the number of children and the total income, or between the number of children and amounts spent for advancement, personal items, or insurance. Social standing may be held to be represented by the condition of the house; it tends to be lower when the number of children is greater, while the total income remains constant.

It is also probable that, at least the last of the afore-mentioned circumstances (i.e., the greater energy and industry of fathers of large families) may be taken into consideration for a partial explanation of what has been called a reversal of the usual class differentials in intra-marital fertility. Interesting researches made in Stockholm and in Greater Oslo<sup>9</sup> show that the average number of children does not decrease with the amount of income, but increases in Stockholm continuously, and in Oslo after an income of 5,000 to 7,000 kronen. The influence of age was eliminated through standardization. In Stockholm, at least, only the income of husbands was considered, and I am informed that in Norway no family allowance exists. The fertility of marriages in both cities is very low, the average being below two children per marriage lasting 10 years. It is significant that, in both

<sup>8</sup> F. Lorimer and F. Osborn, *Dynamics of Population* (New York, 1934), p. 86. The authors suggest another explanation: i.e., that the house values are lower in the South where families are larger. However, the material does not permit us to test this thesis.

<sup>9</sup> For Greater Oslo (Oslo and Aker), see the recent publication, *Studies of Differential Fertility in Sweden*, by K. A. Edin and E. P. Hutchinson (London, 1935), where the results previously expounded by Edin are incorporated. For Norway, see the official publication of the Central Bureau of Statistics, *Census of December 1, 1930, IX*, "Fertility of Marriages" (Norges Offisielle Statistik, IX, 62) and the article by G. Jahn, director of the Bureau, "Barnetallet i norske ekteskap 1920 til 1930," *Saertrykk av Statsoekonomisk tidsskrift*, 1935, Hefte 2-3. Dr. Jahn was so kind as to send me other unpublished data and to give some additional information on the subject.

cities, the workers do not conform to the behavior of the other classes, showing a continuous decrease of the average number of children with increase in income, in keeping with the general rule of western civilization. The rule of a greater number of children for the lower social classes proves valid also for the rural areas of Sweden (Mälar counties) to which the research has been extended, as well as for the general population of Norwegian towns and rural districts.<sup>10</sup>

5. It is important to observe that, when we speak of a lower death-rate and of a slower increase of the upper as compared with the lower social classes, we refer to the totality of the two classes without excluding the possibility that the relationship may present some irregularity for certain special groups.

Exceptions are not uncommon among the marginal occupational groups. Thus, the members of the lower classes who are engaged in domestic service assimilate some traits from the mentality of the upper classes. The consequent pressure of psychical subsistence is probably not the least cause of their exceptionally low birth-rate. On the other hand, the lowest strata of white-collar workers feel, often more strongly than many manual workers, the pressure of physical subsistence and are forced to limit the number of children below that attained by the upper strata.

Other exceptions may be found at the upper and lower extremes of the social ladder.

We have already noted how stocks, which have long since risen to

<sup>10</sup> Certainly for Stockholm and possibly also for Oslo, the circumstance discussed in the text is not sufficient to give a full explanation of all the observed differences. As a matter of fact, in Stockholm the different groups of husbands, classified according to educational status, showed an increasing average number of children with the increasing degree of education, not only in the total groups but also in the sub-groups distinguished according to income class. Moreover, the different occupational groups show lower average numbers of children for the workers in the total group, as well as in the sub-groups distinguished according to income class, except for the lowest categories of income (under 4,000 kronen) in which the average is higher for the workers. For the occupational groups, the results obtained for Oslo are similar but less pronounced, as the average number of children for the workers remains higher than that of the general population in the sub-groups distinguished according to income, until the income class of 5,000 to 7,000 kronen, and also in the total group. Later on we will see other circumstances which may explain these differences.



the upper class and generally constitute the aristocracy of the country, may evidence degenerate traits and how the possibility is not precluded that, in extreme cases, the unfavorable action of these may prevail over the favorable influence of the environment, thus resulting in a higher death-rate.

Analogously we should consider the hypothesis that the lowest classes may have a lower birth-rate than the upper classes or, at least, a birth-rate which does not suffice to compensate for their higher death-rate, thus leading to a slower rate of increase. In fact, at the extreme limit of misery not only is increase of population impossible, but also reproduction—death alone reigning. Before arriving at such a limit there is, however, a large zone in which the population may reproduce, to be sure, but in a measure insufficient to make headway against mortality, and then a zone in which there is approximate equilibrium between the birth-rate and the death-rate, and finally a zone in which there is a numerical increase, certainly, but less than that found in the upper classes. In all these zones the action of physical subsistence is strong enough to exceed in significance that of psychical subsistence which operates in the upper classes. Hence, it is to be expected that where the lowest classes approach the limits of misery (and this has certainly occurred among many populations) they increase less than the upper classes as a whole, and not only the classes which stand immediately above them in the social scale. Such a state of affairs is, however, perfectly compatible with the uniformity that the lower classes, in their totality, manifest a greater increase than the whole of the upper classes.

However, such conditions of misery may, permanently or transitorily, extend to the greater part or even to the totality of the lower classes which, in such a case, increase less than the upper classes. One then finds a real exception to the norm of the differential increase of the social classes.

It may also happen that such conditions of misery become general for an entire population, as has been and is the case among some primitive populations which have come into contact with the white race. In

extreme cases, the deliberate intention of not bringing children into this unhappy world and a frequent sterility (which some writers view as an effect of such a psychology of desperation, but which more probably constitutes the manifestation of common degenerative factors) accompany the increased death-rate encountered in similar instances.

Occasionally, the smaller increase of the lower classes is determined by the violence of the upper classes, as in the case of oppressed populations subject to recurrent devastation and carnage on the part of rulers. Or sometimes, this smaller increase derives from hindrances to marriage and from obstacles to illegitimate reproduction, such as are often found in a regime of slavery when the cost of rearing slaves is notably higher than the price of adult slaves obtained through war or trade.

Natural increase becomes even more affected by the afore-mentioned conditions of misery when these, instead of having a permanent character, are only transitory. For, in generations accustomed to better conditions, there are not yet produced those phenomena of adaptation which, when the race is vital, are attained, after a more or less long time, even in a very unfavorable economic environment. It is known, moreover, that dynamic variations often exert effects different from static diversities even in economic conditions which do not depart from normal.

To the distressful conditions in which the lower strata of the population lived, Dr. De Meo plausibly attributes the smaller increase among persons with average income which he found to have occurred in some cities of Southern Italy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On the contrary, the persons with average income evidenced, in conformity with the norm, an increase greater than that among the group with the highest income.<sup>11</sup>

6. Exceptions to the uniformity of the differential increase of the social classes may appear in particular regimes or periods in which numerous offspring are desired also, or above all, among the upper

<sup>11</sup> See the paper presented by Dr. De Meo at this same Congress on "Il ricambio sociale in alcune città dell'Italia meridionale nei secoli XVII e XVIII."

classes, being advantageous from the economic standpoint or from the viewpoint of family security or of social prestige or of political control.

A numerous progeny may constitute an advantage from the economic standpoint when the abundance of natural resources and the simplicity of equipment necessary to exploit these resources, easily renewable on the spot, make the income of the family primarily dependent upon the number of hands available. It is also necessary, however, that the conditions of production be favorable in such a manner that the earnings of the adult workers compensate the expense of rearing them, and that the family comprise an organic whole so that the gains of the children are contributed to it. These are conditions which can be, and in fact are, found in the first stages of the evolution of nations, particularly when they originate from the colonization of new land for which a primitive technical capital suffices.

A numerous progeny may be useful for the defense of family-unity when it is the family which constitutes the political organism, or when, in a larger political organization, the otherwise slight security of person and home preserves the function of defense for the family. These conditions have been found largely in other times but they can still be found, for example, in populations where the suppression of crime is based on family vendettas.

Such a state of affairs passes by degrees to one in which numerous offspring, without being necessary for defense, contribute in some way to the social prestige of the family. This may occur, for example, because numerous children make available a greater number of votes in elections or a greater number of combatants in war. The prestige is particularly great in small ethnic units in which the recognition of the importance of numbers for the power, if indeed not for the existence, of the group is marked and diffused.<sup>12</sup>

Among many populations, male descendants are regarded as necessary for the ancestral cult.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> For this with especial respect to the Bantu populations, see the paper presented to this Congress by Dr. Enrico H. Sonnabend on "Il ricambio sociale in alcune popolazioni bantu," esp. pp. 10-11.

Particular conditions may also lead to a numerous progeny contributing to the political domination of a family, either inasmuch as sons can represent the father in the exercise of power over more distant regions or inasmuch as the daughters may aid through marriage in creating or in consolidating bonds of friendship or of alliance.

The conditions mentioned previously may be more readily found when political control is an easy source of wealth or when the social organization is not based on individual property or when individual property exists only for some items which—as cattle among the Bantu<sup>13</sup>—have the principal function of serving as a means of exchange for securing wives for the tribe.

In this last case, it is the abundance of women which comes to constitute a source of riches and of prestige, while in the preceding cases it is, exclusively or principally, the abundance of men. But given the impossibility of predicting the sex of offspring, either condition leads equally to an intensification of fertility or at least eliminates the preventive restraints derived from considerations of physical and psychological subsistence.

7. Among populations where children are regarded as economic resources, the wife who bears and rears them comes, as a reflection, also to be regarded as wealth. Moreover, in such populations, the wife generally has also a direct economic utility as a beast of labor (the first domestic animal, it has been said, was woman) and that utility becomes particularly great among populations where the men are absorbed with military pursuits. In such circumstances, the wife is purchased, and more is paid the younger and more robust she is, more being paid for spinsters than widows. Naturally the wealthier men, under such conditions, are assured of the younger and more robust girls, and this favors their having a larger number of children.<sup>14</sup>

On the contrary, where the rearing of children constitutes a liability rather than an asset, and the wife becomes a cause of expense rather

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 17-18.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 17-18.

than a source of income, the husband, instead of paying a price for her, exacts a contribution in the form of a dowry from the parents of the bride. In general, the burden of a family, imposed by social exigencies, increases with the class-level, and in the upper classes the dowry is usually only a partial compensation. This helps to explain why the marriage-rate is lower and the age at marriage is higher among the upper classes and why heiresses, generally the offspring of couples endowed with slight reproductive powers, are so sought after.

When speaking of increase, without further specification, we have meant up to this point, and we will mean in the following, increase in the biological sense. To the afore-mentioned causes of a greater increase (in the biological sense) of the upper classes may be added, in cases where children are considered to constitute economic resources or social power, a cause of greater increase in the social sense. The upper classes may increase through the illegitimate children of their components and of their respective spouses. Under such conditions, these children are received with favor while, under different circumstances, they are repressed into the lower classes to which the other parent belonged.<sup>15</sup>

8. In addition to the economic utility of the wife and children, there is another frequently associated circumstance which tends to cause a greater increase of the upper social classes: polygyny. When wife and children represent an economic burden, few can be desirous of increasing it. Some rulers may have the desire of indulging in the luxury of a harem and of assuring a numerous progeny who may consolidate and extend their domain, but polygyny will never assume social importance under such conditions. For this to occur it is necessary that the possession of many wives be generally appraised as advantageous. In that case, the spouse is, as we have said, purchased. The purchase of wives, therefore, generally accompanies the custom of polygyny and naturally this becomes diffused principally, if not exclusively, among the wealthy classes. It is true that the components of these classes generally must recruit a part of their harem from the lower classes. But, in any event,

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

polygyny, by increasing the contribution of wealthy husbands to the formation of the following generation, always carries with it a higher birth-rate of the upper classes if the women are as prolific in a polygynous as in a monogamous regime. Actually, however, it is not thus, for all the evidence uniformly attests that, though the average number of children per husband is greater in a polygynous regime, the average number of children per wife is greater in a monogamous regime.

Definitively, it may be said that the birth-rate among the various social classes will differ according to the degree of polygyny and according to the difference in the fertility of women in monogamic and polygynic regimes. The following is an illustration. Let us suppose an adult population of 212 persons, of whom 100 are male and 112 female. Let us suppose further that while 90 men, belonging to the lower class, are monogamous, the other 10, belonging to the upper class, are polygynous. These 10 polygynists have married a total of 22 women, 11 of whom belong to the same upper class while the 11 others are recruited from a lower class. If half of the children of the 11 women of the lower class married to men of a higher class are counted among upper-class births and half among lower-class births, there will be an average number of children ( $=1.57$ ) equal for the 21 persons belonging to the upper class and for the 191 persons belonging to the lower class, when the 22 women in the polygynic regime, coming either from the upper or the lower class, have an average of two children and the 90 women in the monogamic regime have an average of 3.21 children. Should the difference between female fertility in the polygynic and in the monogamic regimes be greater, the average number of children would be smaller for the components of the upper class. On the contrary, should the difference be less, it would be smaller for the components of the lower class.

An error committed even by cautious writers is that of classifying all the children of polygynous husbands as births in the class to which these husbands belong. Such an error explains the statement that polygyny always leads to a higher birth-rate of the upper classes.

However, it is to be observed that, as is usually the case, if the children remain in the paternal social class, the upper class will be found to increase more rapidly than the preceding calculation would allow. This is an effect of immission of blood from the lower class. Thus, in the preceding example, the 44 descendants of the women in a polygynic regime would belong to the upper class, although only half of them are pure descendants and half, on the contrary, are hybrids. Hence it follows that if, from the biological standpoint, the increase of the upper class is equally as great as that of the lower class, its social increase is greater. On the other hand, it is difficult to conceive such a condition as permanent. It could, indeed, be found during a period when there was an increasing place in the society for representatives of the upper classes, or else when the children of upper-class fathers are in part repressed into the lower classes. Apart from these hypothetical conditions, the polygynic regime can endure only when it is so attenuated as to permit the subsistence of a greater biological increase on the part of the lower classes. We shall see how these various hypotheses can correspond to successive phases in the process of amalgamating different stocks.

Incidentally, it may be noted that polygyny, insofar as it presupposes that some of the wives in a polygynic regime are normally recruited from a class lower than that of the husbands, involves an ascent from the lower to the upper classes. An ascent is also found in monogamic regimes, insofar as the smaller increase of the upper classes is such that they tend to become insufficient for the social functions which they are called upon to fulfill and must fill the gaps with elements selected from the lower classes. However, there are these differences between the two cases: in a monogamic regime, the ascent is a consequence of the differential increase of the social classes, whereas in a polygynic regime it is one of its factors; in a polygynic regime this ascent is in greater measure, if not essentially, by women, while in a monogamic regime it is primarily the men who ascend.

9. Up to this point we have considered exceptions to the differential increase of the social classes which are due essentially to the action of

external factors differing from conditions found normally in our social organization. But other exceptions may be due to particular conditions connected with internal factors.

In setting the problem we have supposed that the various classes would belong to the same race, differentiating between them by the different frequency with which the precocious or the retarded stocks occurred in the lower and in the upper classes. Sometimes, however, the various classes are recruited from different races and in such cases it is possible that, permanently or temporarily, the upper classes may be constituted of a more youthful race endowed with a higher reproductivity. Such is even the normal epilogue of contact between races when this results not in a peaceful mutual penetration but in the two races being self-enclosed with attitudes of reciprocal hostility. In such a case, the conflict is usually resolved, after a brief or long time, with the victory of the younger race which becomes the dominating class in the new social organization which results. Such was the epilogue of the conflict between the Romans and Barbarians, the Tartars and Slavs and, probably, the Negroes and Hamites. However, such a state of affairs is often transitory, either because the social factors which lead to a smaller increase of the upper classes subsequently predominate, as occurred among the Barbarians in Italy,<sup>16</sup> or because the two races are fused, as was the case for the Hamites and the Negroes that gave rise to the Bantu populations.

The relations between two different races assume particular aspects when polygyny flourishes among them. Certainly this constitutes one of the most favorable conditions for developing contacts between a dominating and a dominated group. On the one hand, polygyny facilitates miscegenation and, on the other, constitutes for the dominating race a means of expansion from the biological and social standpoints insofar as it is allowed by the organization of the society. Subsequently, expansion tends to continue to the exterior by means of emigration or of war. Both of these means are facilitated by the abundance of males which is often found in the dominated classes as a consequence of a large-scale

<sup>16</sup> In this connection, cf. *I fattori demografici*, pp. 32-33.



recruiting of women for the harems of the dominators.<sup>17</sup> When expansion has ceased, the superfluous children of the dominator-polygynists are inevitably destined to fall into lower classes. The stimulus deriving from political expansion becomes less marked and this accentuates the difficulty of providing adequate positions for these children. In such instances, polygyny generally tends to be reduced in scope up to the point where it is compatible with the numerical equilibrium of the upper classes, save in particular cases, such as that found among the Bantu, where the abundance of wives is strictly linked with the individual's wealth and with social prestige.<sup>18</sup>

10. Just as a group of different but freely intermixing stocks does not differ in terms of the viewpoint here involved from a racially homogeneous population, so classes belonging to the same race, if they are completely closed, finally act like populations constituted by different races. Whenever the upper classes are closed to penetration by the lower classes, they end sooner or later—and so much the sooner, the more restricted they are—by declining numerically and often by degenerating individually, until they are dethroned by the lower classes which have increased both in number and in power. If, after the revolution the upper classes of one period become the lower classes, there will be found an exception analogous to that considered above (the case of two different races with the dominators having greater reproductive powers). In passing we may observe that the theory of the circulation of the élite attributes an exaggerated significance to such cases which are actually of a rather exceptional character.<sup>19</sup>

11. There are reasons for maintaining that the reproductivity of the population increases in the first period of the evolution of nations. This occurs insofar as the effect of reproductive selection, through which the

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the paper of Sonnabend, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 15.

<sup>19</sup> For a searching discussion of Pareto's theory of the circulation of the élite and of its relations with my theory of social metabolism, see the paper presented at this Congress by Dr. G. Levi della Vida on "La teoria della circolazione delle aristocrazie del Pareto e la teoria del ricambio sociale del Gini," and her more extensive treatment of the same subject in *Genus*, II (June, 1936).

more fecund stocks represent an increasing fraction of successive generations, prevails over the still slight tendency toward a progressive reduction of the reproductive power of single stocks.<sup>20</sup> From this circumstance, and from another afore-mentioned (that the upper classes antecede the mass of the population in the course of the evolution), some authors have wished to deduce that the upper classes should present an increase greater than that of the lower classes during such an initial period. But this conclusion is erroneous, inasmuch as the effect of reproductive selection occurs within all the classes, high or low, and thus permits the persistence of the differences between them which are due to social and biological factors.

12. If the afore-mentioned circumstances, which may produce an inversion in the differential increase of the social classes, occur with less intensity, they attenuate but do not eliminate the normal differences. Moreover, there are other circumstances of more or less general character which have an analogous effect.

One of such circumstances is represented by the system of "closed classes." Preventing the relief afforded the lower classes by an ascent to the upper classes in a regime of free mobility, the system of closed classes aggravates their condition, and intensifies repressive and preventive checks to their increase. Contrariwise, the components of the upper classes are freed from competition with elements wishing to rise from the lower strata and are thus in temporarily favorable conditions as a consequence of demand exceeding supply. As a result of this, there is a difference of rapidity in the evolution of populations with closed classes and of populations with free social circulation, a phenomenon of considerable significance.<sup>21</sup>

In this connection it is convenient to distinguish different forms of

<sup>20</sup> Cf. "The Cyclical Rise and Fall," pp. 10-11; *Nascita, evoluzione e morte*, p. 16, "Alcune ricerche italiane sulla riproduttività differenziale," *Economia*, 1927, reproduced in English under the title, "Some Italian inquiries into differential reproductivity," *Proceedings of the World Population Conference* (London, 1927), pp. 158-59, in which, however, typographical errors render the formulae incomprehensible.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. in particular, "The Cyclical Rise and Fall," pp. 31-33; *Nascita, evoluzione e morte*, pp. 31-32; *Le basi scientifiche*, pp. 81-87, 256.

systems with closed classes, generally corresponding to different causes. The system may be determined by racial differences between the upper and lower classes, as occurred in India, where the castes were established by the Caucasian invaders in order to impede miscegenation with the subject indigenous populations, and as is the case today in America and in South Africa between the white and colored peoples. In such cases, the "closure" is bilateral, i.e., it holds both for males and females, although not strictly to the same degree, and tends to be hermetic.

On the contrary, the system may be determined by the inconveniences of an earlier regime with free circulation, inconveniences which at a certain stage in the evolution of nations are more strongly felt. Such was the case for the "lockout" of the Grand Council at Venice and for the reform attained in pre-Cortesian Mexico by Montezuma II. In such instances, the closure is for the most part unilateral (i.e., limited to men), while a certain ascent is continued in the female line through matrimony or concubinage on the part of members of the upper classes with women of the lower classes.<sup>22</sup>

13. At this juncture, it is well to recall that the differential increase of the social classes presents a different intensity in the various stages of the evolution of peoples.<sup>23</sup> Hardly perceptible at first, as long as social differentiation is not so pronounced, it becomes intensified in the course of time. There are reasons for maintaining that ultimately the differential increase will become attenuated, either because wealth is widely diffused and the customs of the upper classes gradually become the customs of the entire population, or, because in the long run even the most retarded stocks eventually grow old when factors of rejuvenation through appropriate crossings do not intervene. These circumstances contribute to an explanation of the attenuation of the differential increase of the social classes which were found after the War. This is due in good part to the dissemination of birth control practices among

<sup>22</sup> On this, in regard particularly to Mexico, see the paper presented to this Congress by Dr. D. Camavitto on "Il ricambio sociale nel Messico precortesiano."

<sup>23</sup> Cf. in this connection, the works and passages cited in note 1.

the lower classes.<sup>24</sup> Already initiated previously, this movement was accelerated by the War, insofar as military service had increased contacts between the components of the different social classes, and from various standpoints had led to the similar treatment of them. Moreover, the War had evoked among the elements of the lower classes who returned to civil life the aspirations of acting like the members of the upper classes.<sup>25</sup>

When the biological factors of differential increase have ceased to be significant and the pressure of psychical subsistence has become general, the level of the birth-rate falls for all classes under the minimum necessary to keep the population stationary. In those extreme circumstances, it may well be expected that the less fortunate or less educated classes bear a number of children even smaller than that of the upper ones. For, among them are less pronounced and less common the desire for the perpetuation of the family name and the sentiment of duty to contribute to the strength of the nation or of the race; a desire and a sentiment which, although insufficient to keep the birth-rate on a fairly high level,<sup>26</sup> nevertheless contribute to prevent its falling below a certain point. Thus, it is not surprising to find in some Nordic metropoli, where the average number of children in practically all the income and occupational classes does not reach two after 10 years of marriage, a fertility index somewhat higher in the wealthier groups, in the higher professions, and in the better educated sections of the population.<sup>27</sup>

14. Other relevant circumstances may occasionally be found. For

<sup>24</sup> It may be permissible to state that as far back as 1908 I had foreseen such an attenuation. Cf. the cited article, "Il diverso accrescimento . . ." which reproduces a paper presented to the "Seconda Riunione della Società Italiana per il Progresso delle Scienze," (Florence, 1908).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. "The Cyclical Rise and Fall," p. 23; *Nascita, evoluzione e morte*, p. 25.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *Le basi scientifiche*, pp. 132-4.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. footnote 10. According, however, to an article by Dr. Jahn (received at the time of reading proofs) already in 1858, when the number of children per marriage was substantially greater than now, the interval between successive births was shorter in the families of clerical workers of Eilert Sund (a quarter of Oslo) than in those of skilled workers, and shorter in the families of skilled than in those of unskilled workers. Cf. "De store barnetall i gamle dager," *Saertrykk av Statistisk-økonomisk tidsskrift*, 1936, Hefte 2.

example, after an exceptional restriction of increase imposed by circumstances upon a given category of the population, it is probable that there follows in the said category a more intense reaction than in the other sections of the population. It is possible that this circumstance may have contributed to the quick, postwar renewal of the birth-rate among the upper classes, which seems to be shown by the data on the birth-rate in the wealthy quarters of some cities,<sup>28</sup> inasmuch as it is likely that during the War the reduction of births may have been even greater in the upper than in the lower, less provident classes. At this same time there occurred a transitory amelioration in the economic conditions of entrepreneurs during the period of inflation. .

It is probable that an analogous but more intense phenomenon of expansion of the upper classes had taken place during the first development of great industry. At the same time, the great technological unemployment and the oppressive routine of labor, extending even to wives and children, determined an exceptionally high mortality among the lower classes. Thus has been explained the lesser differentiation in the increase of the social classes which was found in England toward the middle of the last century.<sup>29</sup>

The difference in the increase of the social classes may also become attenuated by propaganda and by governmental measures to stimulate births in general, or births among determinate categories of the population in particular. The propaganda which makes an appeal to patriotic sentiments generally takes stronger hold among the upper classes. Here is a circumstance which, together with those previously mentioned, may have contributed to the slight upturn of the birth-rate found in wealthy quarters after the War. Governmental subsidies, insofar as they exercise any influence, naturally exert it upon the classes to which they are suited. These are, in general, the classes of minor officials or

<sup>28</sup> See the data for Bremen in A. Grotjahn, "Differential Birth-rate in Germany," in the cited *Proceedings of the World Population Congress*, p. 153 and, for Paris, in L. Hersch, "Situation sociale et natalité d'après les statistiques de la ville de Paris," in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale per gli studi sulla popolazione*, VIII (Rome, 1931), 105 ff.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. "The Cyclical Rise and Fall," p. 23; *Nascita, evoluzione e morte*, p. 25; *Le basi scientifiche*, p. 258.

of petty bourgeois, i.e., the lower strata of the upper classes. While it may be admitted that such measures have some transitory effect, it is doubtful if they would have any effect whatsoever were they continued permanently. It may even be asked if, perchance, they might not finally exert an effect opposite to that which is sought.<sup>80</sup>

15. At other times, particular circumstances may accentuate the normal diversity in the increase of the various social classes. For centuries that was certainly the case in periods of warfare, to which the nobility, more than the other classes, made great contributions of blood.<sup>81</sup> Moreover, the devastations, expulsions, exoduses, and carnage of the vanquished populations, which so often followed the war, generally struck in greater measure the more prominent persons and the upper classes, either because they had taken a more active part in the war or because their property more readily aroused the cupidity of the victors. In respect to war losses today, conditions are perhaps inverted, not because the components of the upper classes are less exposed to death when participating in the war (on the contrary, in many states the officers have a higher death-rate than the privates),<sup>82</sup> but because they may be more easily exempted from service.

During the last prewar period, the smaller increase of the upper classes was accentuated in many states by the fact that the neo-Malthusian propaganda had taken hold to a considerable extent among these classes, while the lower classes continued relatively free from it. On the other hand, the demographic balance of the lower classes, especially in cities, became favorable as compared with the past through the hygienic and sanitary measures taken on their behalf by the public authorities. The last two causes have combined in the great cities of

<sup>80</sup> Cf. "The Cyclical Rise and Fall," pp. 27-28 and 46-47; *Nascita, evoluzione e morte*, p. 28, and footnote 21 on pp. 40-41.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. *Il diverso accrescimento*, pp. 9-10; *Le basi scientifiche*, pp. 245-46.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. my report on "Gli effetti eugenici e disgenici della guerra," presented at the Third International Congress of Eugenics (21-27 August, 1932) and reprinted in *Genus*, I, 37. The report is published under the title, "Report of the Committee for the Study of the Eugenic and Dysgenic Effects of War," in the volume *A Decade of Progress in Eugenics, Scientific Papers of the Third International Congress of Eugenics* (Baltimore, 1932), pp. 231-43.

Europe toward the end of the last and the beginning of this century, as is attested by various statistics on the differential increase of urban areas classified according to the degree of their wealth. It is reasonable to hold that the differences found for that period were higher than normal. This helps to explain the lesser intensity, in these differences, which was found in the same cities in the postwar period and also in an earlier period.<sup>88</sup>

16. The foregoing review shows how multiple circumstances, some permanent, others saltatory or occasional, intervene to modify from place to place and from time to time the differences in increase of the various classes. In spite of these, one may speak of a norm in the sense that, in our social organization, the increase is generally less for the upper social classes, but it is difficult to establish what the normal intensity of such differences would be if there were no special causes of modification.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. the publications cited in notes 24, 25, 28, and 29.

# Historical Background of California Farm Labor

*Paul S. Taylor and Tom Vasey*

DURING less than a century of agricultural history, the rural work of California has been performed successively by ranch hands, by farm hands, and by semi-industrialized proletarians. Today the latter dominate the rural scene—numerous, mobile, and racially varied to a degree beyond the agricultural laborers of all other states. The present article examines the historical trends which underlie these changes. A following article will analyze the unique characteristics of the contemporary farm labor problem of California, and contrast them with the labor problem of other significant types of agriculture.

The form of land use has been a major determinant of the prevailing labor type at each period in the history of rural California. Spanish and Mexican domination turned the hunting grounds of the Indians rapidly into ranges for livestock, and made *vaqueros* and *pastores* the first dominant type of rural worker. Great herds roamed the hills and plains. Hides and tallow were exported, but flour was imported. Agriculture was developed only as an adjunct to ranching.

During the American period, three trends in the use of California farm land have markedly influenced the type of labor dominant at different periods. Statistical indices of these trends are presented in Table I. The first column, representing acreage of land in farms,

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reflects the growth of land occupation, and the first encroachment of settlers on the range of the *vaqueros* and *pastores*. Occupation was very rapid after 1849, and steady. Acreage of all land in farms rose from less than four million in 1849 to 11 million in 1869, and to nearly 29 million in 1899, or practically its present extent. While the total area in farms was increasing, the acreage of improved land within these farms was also expanding rapidly. From less than 33,000 acres in 1849, it rose to two and one-half million within a decade, and reached its peak of 12 million acres by 1889, only 30 years later. While the gold rush increased the number of miners from 57,797 to 82,573 during the Fifties, the number of farmers rose from 1,486 to 20,836 in the same decade. Column two of Table I shows this increase of cultivation statistically. Cultivation marked definitely the eclipse of laborers who tend pastured cattle and the rise of laborers who tend crops.

Wheat was the principal crop, and soon the Central Valley became a major granary of the world. At first, Indians were used extensively as farm laborers for cultivating and harvesting grain. Methods were primitive. Single-shared plows, harrows made of limbs, and scythes were used; mustangs stampeding through a corral threshed the grain. But during the next three decades machinery was revolutionizing the use of hand labor, and whites were replacing the Indians. Machine sowing, the multi-shared plow, and mechanical harvesters rapidly diminished dependence upon labor. The early adoption of the combine on the bonanza wheat farms of California marked "the logical ultimate step in the evolution of large-scale methods of harvesting."<sup>1</sup> White laborers, often single and migratory, supplied the limited demand for farm hands.

Just as increasing population and farm settlement restricted the area of range for cattle, so the introduction of irrigation encroached upon grain production and overshadowed the typical farm hand. Not that grazing and grain production had become impossible, but irrigation

<sup>1</sup> Leo Rogin, "The Introduction of Farm Machinery," *Univ. of Calif. Pub. in Econ.*, IX, 119.

and intensive crops supported a greater population through greater productivity and a higher income for a given area. This change has been noticeable particularly since 1890. In fact, during the past 40 years, the significant feature of California agriculture has been not expansion of the area under cultivation, but intensification of the use of areas already cultivated. With the exception of the Imperial Valley, no large new areas were brought under cultivation during that time.

The earliest irrigated commercial crops were grapes and fruit. The opening of markets through the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 greatly stimulated their production. Hops had also been introduced by this time, and their acreage increased rapidly from 1870 to a peak in 1910. Sugar beets followed, first in the Seventies, but principally after the Dingley Tariff Act of 1897. Truck crop production has developed mainly during the past quarter century. Cotton was first commercially produced in 1909, but had its chief expansion during and after the War. Lettuce production on a large scale dates from the early Twenties.

This latest significant trend in land use is shown by column three of Table I. The extension of irrigation lagged behind the extension of the cultivated area. From small beginnings, however, it increased rapidly, particularly from 1869 to 1889 and from 1899 to 1919. The expansion of improved and irrigated acreage is graphically presented in Chart 1. Table II shows the increase in number of farms irrigated from 13,732 in 1889 to 85,784 in 1929, and from 4.7 per cent of all farms to 15.6.

Intensive agriculture, founded upon irrigation, has subordinated the typical farm hand. Requiring large numbers of hand laborers, it has built up in California a semi-industrialized rural proletariat. Because of the vast difference in the amount of labor required to cultivate a similar acreage of grain as compared with truck, fruit, and cotton, Tables I and II and Chart 1 inevitably understate the labor significance of the rise of irrigation as compared with the much greater area of improved land. More nearly adequate in this respect is Table III,

TABLE I

ACREAGE OF ALL LAND IN FARMS, OF IMPROVED LAND IN FARMS, AND OF LAND UNDER IRRIGATION IN CALIFORNIA, 1849-1929\*

Year	Land in Farms		
	All Land	Improved Land	Under Irrigation
1849	3,893,985	32,454	.....
1859	8,730,034	2,468,034	.....
1869	11,427,105	6,218,133	58,273†
1879	16,593,742	10,669,698	299,575†
1889	21,427,293	12,222,839	1,004,233
1899	28,828,951	11,958,837	1,446,114
1909	27,931,444	11,389,894	2,664,104
1919	29,365,667	11,878,339	4,219,040
1929	30,442,581	‡11,465,164	4,746,632

\* Statistics for this table and others accompanying this article were compiled from U. S. Census unless otherwise specified.

† Reports of the Surveyor General of California.

‡ Improved land, 1849 to 1919, is a census classification which includes "all land tilled or mowed, land in pasture which has been cleared or tilled, land lying fallow, land in gardens, orchards, vineyards, nurseries, and land occupied by farm buildings." The comparable figure for 1929 represents the total of "crop land" and "plowable pasture."

TABLE II

FARMS UNDER IRRIGATION IN CALIFORNIA, 1889-1929

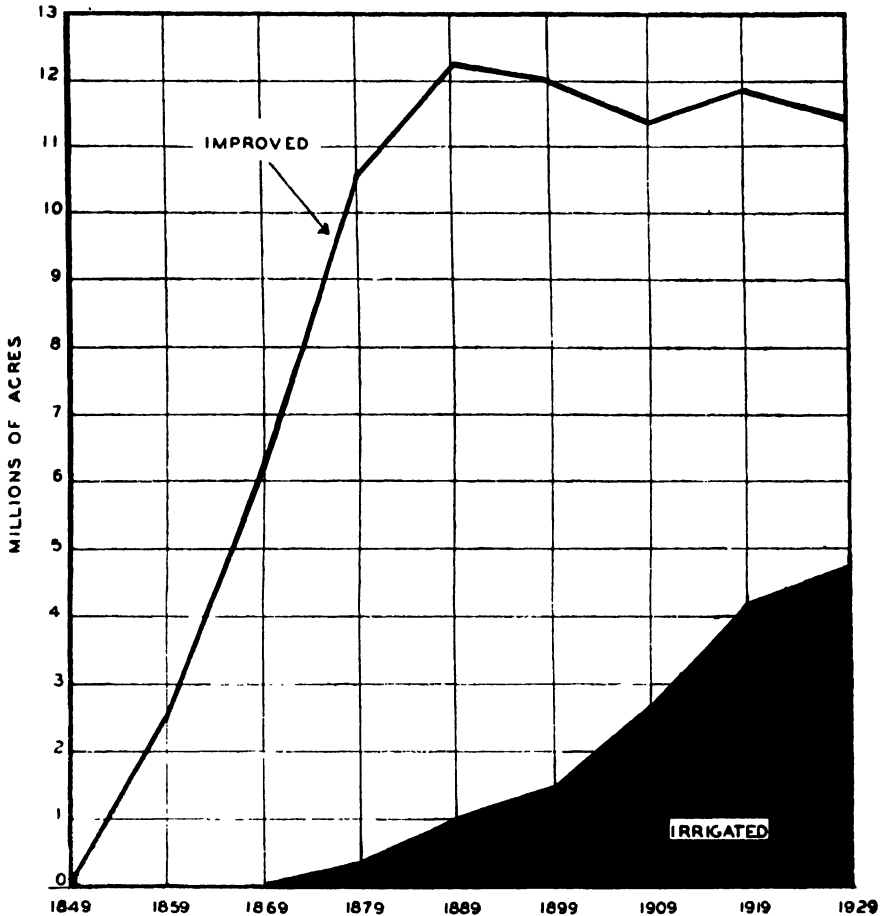
Year	Number of Farms	Per cent of all Farms	Per cent of Land in Farms	Per cent of Area of State
1889	13,732	26.0	4.7	1.0
1899	25,675	35.4	5.0	1.5
1909	39,352	44.6	9.5	2.7
1919	67,391	57.3	14.4	4.2
1929	85,784	63.2	15.6	4.8

which compares the value of extensive crops with the value of intensive (truck, fruit, and cotton) crops since 1869.

Extensive crops in California fluctuated in value from 35 millions in 1869 to 110 millions in 1929, with a peak of 204 millions in 1919

CHART 1

# **AREA OF IMPROVED LAND AND IRRIGATED LAND IN CALIFORNIA, 1849-1929**



(see Table III and Chart 2). But during the same period, intensive crops rose in value from less than two and one-half million dollars in 1869 to 397 millions in 1929. Relatively, intensive crops rose in value from 6.6 per cent of all crops in 1869 to 78.4 per cent in 1929. Graphically, this striking increase is presented in Chart 3. Here lies the major explanation of the fact that farm laborers in California increased from 13,541 in 1860 to 196,812 in 1929, and from 37.3 per cent of all

persons gainfully employed in agriculture to 59.3 per cent, the highest proportion in any state of agricultural importance.

TABLE III  
RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF EXTENSIVE AND INTENSIVE AGRICULTURE  
IN CALIFORNIA, 1869-1929, MEASURED BY VALUE OF CROP\*

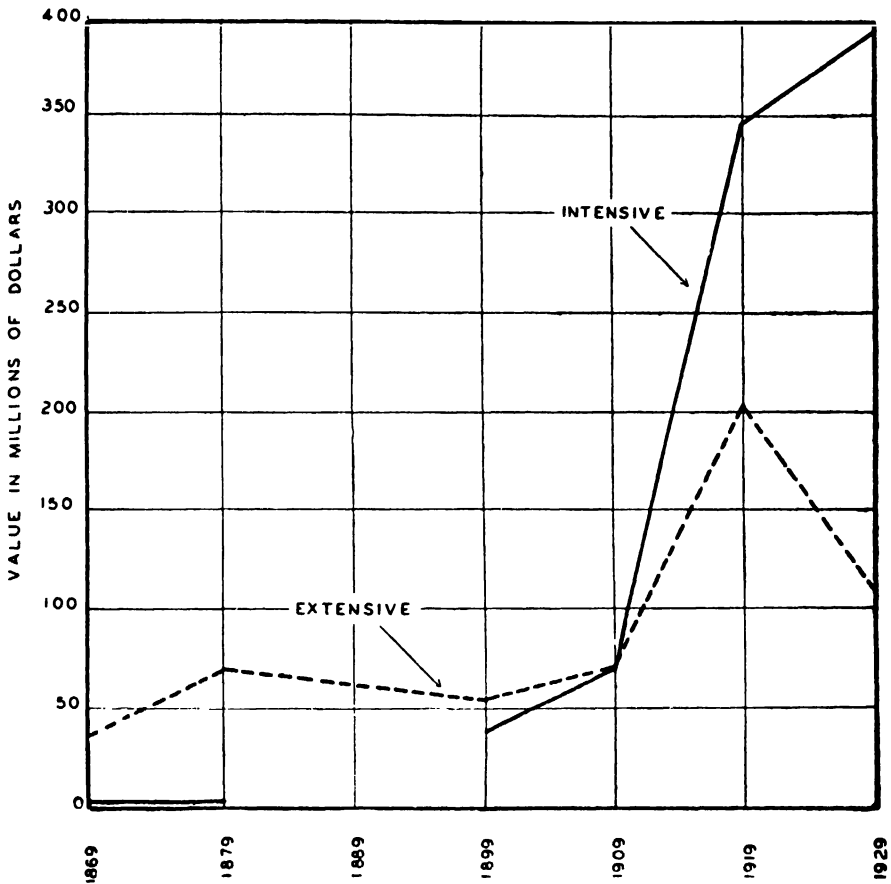
Year	Value of Crop		Per cent	
	Extensive	Intensive	Extensive	Intensive
1869	\$ 35,006,614	\$ 2,444,259	93.4	6.6
1879	69,304,121	2,813,977	96.1	3.9
1879	69,304,121	2,813,977	96.1	3.9
1889	62,603,721	.....	....	....
1899	53,111,131	40,441,677	56.7	43.3
1909	70,246,078	68,886,694	50.5	49.5
1919	204,692,315	346,249,327	36.6	63.4
1929	109,902,741	397,030,268	21.6	78.4

\* Compiled from *U.S. Census* and *U.S.D.A. Statistical Bulletins* 56-63. The distinction employed here between "extensive" and "intensive" crops is based upon important differences in the amount of field labor required for crop production. *Extensive crops*: From 1899 to 1929 the census classifications of "cereals" and "hay and forage" were combined. From 1869 to 1889 the total value of corn, wheat, oats, barley, rye, buckwheat, and hay was used, as given by the U.S.D.A. bulletins cited above. This crop classification is substantially the same as that employed from 1899 to 1929. *Intensive crops*: In 1919, 1929, and 1909 the following census crop classifications were combined: "vegetables (including potatoes)," "fruits and nuts," "cotton (lint and seed)," "hops," and "sugar beets for sugar." In 1899 the following classifications were combined: "vegetables" (including sugar beets reported grown by farmers), "small fruits," "orchard products," "grapes," "beans," "hops," "sugar beets," (reported by factories), "sub-tropical fruits," and "nuts." The value of intensive crops is not obtainable for 1889; 1869 and 1879 represent a combination of "orchard products" and "market-garden." The total value of "all crops" reported by the census is slightly above the combined value of extensive crops listed here. The discrepancy is not important for the purpose of this table. It arises partly from variations in census classification employed in different decades; in this table forest and nursery products represent the chief omissions in recent decades.

The historical trends since 1860 of "all persons gainfully employed in agriculture" and of those employed as "farm laborers" are shown in Table IV. In order to permit significant comparisons, data from Iowa, Mississippi, and the United States as a whole are included. Iowa and Mississippi represent types of agriculture which differ widely

CHART 2

# VALUE OF INTENSIVE CROPS AND VALUE OF EXTENSIVE CROPS IN CALIFORNIA, 1869-1929



from each other and from California. The principal crop of Iowa is corn, which is extensive. The principal crop of Mississippi is cotton, which is intensive at present, although development of a successful mechanical picker may render it extensive in the future. In both California and Mississippi, the percentage of all persons gainfully employed in agriculture *who were laborers* is above the national average and far above the percentage in Iowa. Graphic presentation of these data is made in Charts 4 and 5. Further comparison of the rural labor

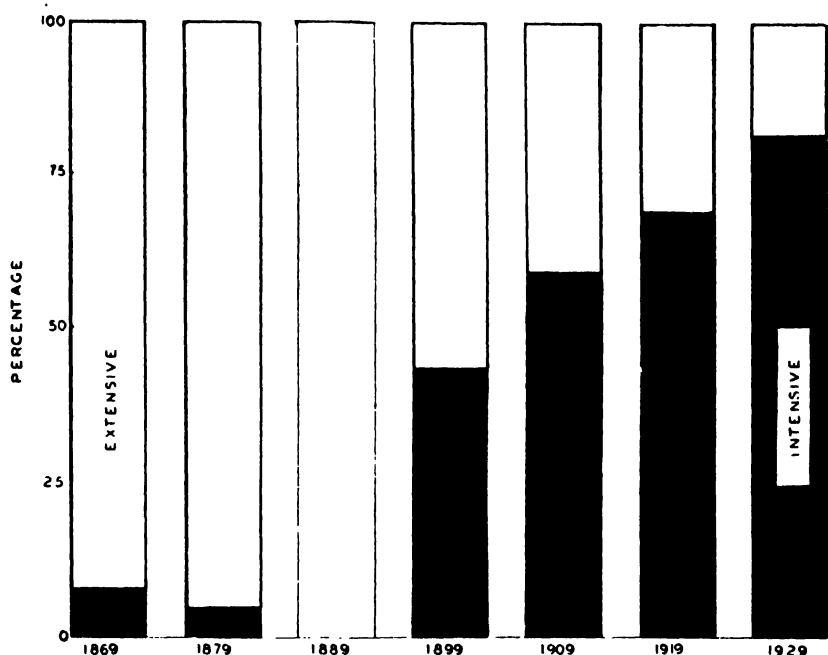
**TABLE IV**  
**FARM LABORERS (PAID AND UNPAID), IN RELATION TO ALL PERSONS GAINFULLY EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE**  
**(10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER), IN THE UNITED STATES, CALIFORNIA, IOWA, AND MISSISSIPPI, 1860-1930**

Farm Laborers												
Persons Gainfully Employed in Agriculture					Number				Per cent			
	U. S.	California	Iowa	Mississippi	U. S.	California	Iowa	Mississippi	U. S.	Calif.	Iowa	Miss.
1860*	3,340,341	37,785	116,191	57,585	808,791	15,014	27,270	7,990	24.2	39.7	23.5	13.9
1870	5,919,993	47,863	210,263	259,199	2,898,317	19,239	69,894	181,544	48.9	40.2	33.2	70.0
1880	7,663,043	79,396	303,557	339,690	3,360,416	28,546	89,878	215,542	43.8	36.0	29.6	63.4
1890	8,450,036	129,715	321,566	358,174	3,065,248	59,145	75,340	180,693	36.3	45.6	23.4	50.4
1900	10,305,029	145,801	370,957	486,560	4,522,270	71,867	134,221	259,824	43.9	49.3	36.2	53.4
1910	12,388,300	211,898	353,724	671,955	6,205,633	119,611	137,659	399,623	50.1	56.4	38.9	59.5
1920	10,665,812	260,612	326,230	498,498	4,186,128	125,248	106,490	223,958	39.2	48.1	32.6	44.9
1930	10,471,998	332,024	330,881	557,067	4,392,764	196,812	117,016	250,162	41.9	59.3	35.4	44.9

\* The data for 1860 relate to all free persons 15 years of age and over.

CHART 3

**RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF EXTENSIVE AND INTENSIVE  
AGRICULTURE IN CALIFORNIA, 1869-1929,  
MEASURED BY VALUE OF CROPS**



problem in California, Iowa, and Mississippi will be developed in the succeeding article.

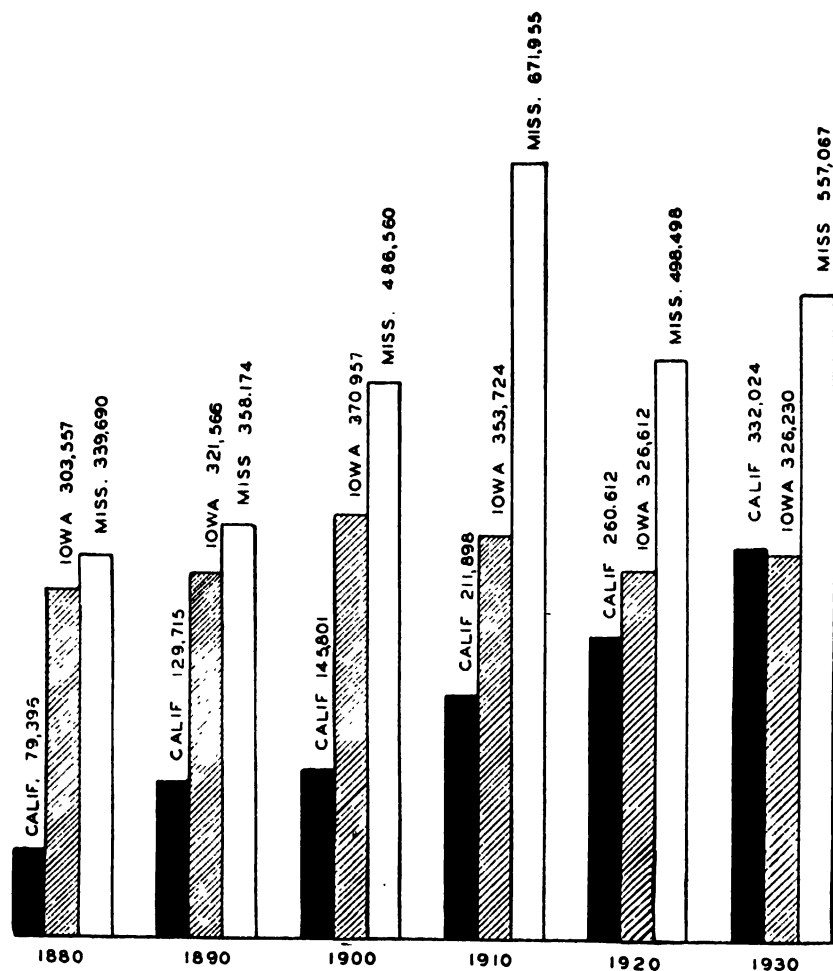
The intensification of agriculture accounts not only for the large percentage of farm laborers in California; it is responsible, also, for the long line of immigrant nationalities which have played so large a rôle in the agriculture of the state. As with the large industrial plants of the East and the cotton plantations of the South, so with the California irrigated farms, the source for cheap labor has generally been in the areas of the world with a low standard of living.

In Table V is presented the population in California since 1850 of each of the principal Oriental groups which have played an important part in agriculture, or whose presence in the state is owing in considerable measure to the farm employment available to them. Mexicans.



CHART 4

# **NUMBER OF PERSONS GAINFULLY EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE IN CALIFORNIA, IOWA AND MISSISSIPPI, 1880 - 1930**



too, are included on the only uniform basis available, viz., white persons born in Mexico. The Oriental and the Mexican groups stand apart not only because of their wide participation in intensive agriculture, but also because of their lack of participation in the older forms of farming. A small number of "ranch hands" of Mexican stock who have served

TABLE V  
MEXICAN AND ORIENTAL POPULATION OF CALIFORNIA, 1850-1930\*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Persons Born in Mexico</i>	<i>Chinese</i>	<i>Japanese</i>	<i>Hindus</i>	<i>Filipinos</i>
1850	6,454	660	.....	.....	.....
1860	9,150	34,933	.....	.....	.....
1870	8,978	49,277	33	.....	.....
1880	8,648	75,132	86	.....	.....
1890	7,164	72,472	1,147	202	.....
1900	8,086	45,753	10,151	263	.....
1910	33,694	36,248	41,356	1,948	5
1920	86,610	28,812	71,952	1,723	2,674
1930	199,994	37,361	97,456	1,873	30,470

\* Italicized figures show nationality as indicated by foreign birth; other figures show "race" irrespective of country of birth. Since Mexicans were not given a separate racial classification until 1930, the figures of the first column for 1850 through 1920 represent "foreign-born whites" born in Mexico. For purposes of comparability with preceding figures, the 1930 figure given here is the total of 8,648 "foreign-born" white persons born in Mexico and 191,346 foreign-born Mexicans. The number of "Mexicans" in California in 1930 was 368,013.

on cattle and sheep ranches ever since the American occupation constitute a minor exception. In general farming on non-irrigated land Orientals and Mexicans rarely work as farm hands, in contrast with the "white" groups which do.

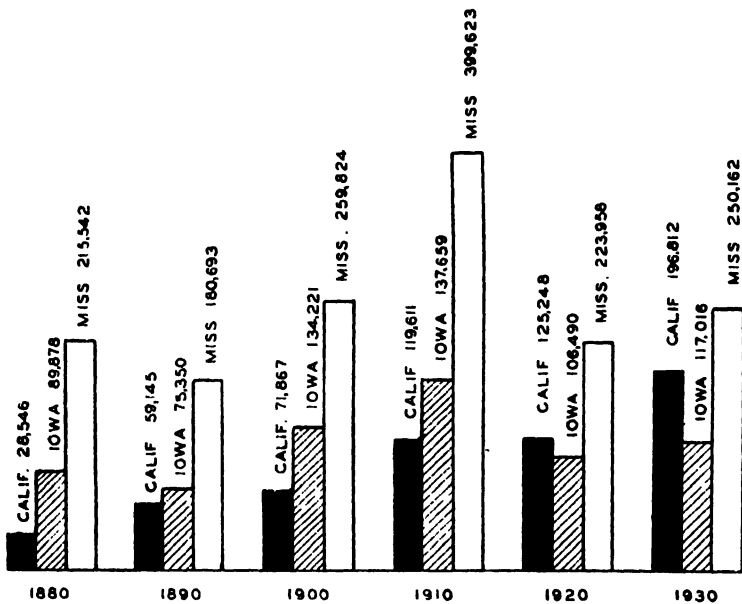
European immigrants as well have played, and continue to play, an important part in agriculture. They are not included in this discussion, however, because as a group they graduated to farm ownership or operation more rapidly than any Orientals except perhaps the Japanese, and because the greater rapidity of their assimilation has made their presence among the general population less noticeable. Upon the basis of these racially distinct groups, the intensive labor crops have been developed in the state.

In the Fifties, Chinese entered agriculture where labor was scarce, and because whites drove them from the mines. Railroad construction during the Sixties brought thousands more Chinese to California. Many

of these, released by completion of the Central Pacific Railroad in 1869, entered the newly developing truck and fruit farms as seasonal and hand workers. The second generation of Chinese in California, however, has avoided farm employment almost completely.

CHART 5

**FARM LABORERS, PAID AND UNPAID, IN CALIFORNIA,  
IOWA AND MISSISSIPPI, 1880-1930**



Japanese workers in the Nineties and early 1900's began to supersede the Chinese, whose numbers were not recruited by fresh immigration, and to meet the needs of expanding irrigation. American and European whites, too, labored throughout the period. Largely they were of the casual labor type of single men, so well described by Carleton Parker, or they were men who passed through agricultural employment, going on to farm operation, management of small businesses, or occupations where wages were higher. Small numbers of Hindustanis worked in gangs on the farms during the decade or more before the War, then advanced rapidly to farm operation, foremanship, or labor contracting.

TABLE VI  
MEXICANS, CHINESE, JAPANESE, AND FILIPINOS IN CALIFORNIA ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE,  
CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATIONAL STATUS, 1930

	Engaged in all Occupations	Engaged in Agriculture		Status of Persons Engaged in Agriculture					
				Farm Owners and Tenants		Farm Managers and Foremen		Farm Laborers	
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Mexicans*	128,092	42,608	33.3	1,124	2.6	293	0.7	41,191	96.7
Chinese	20,453	2,641	12.9	367	13.9	83	3.1	2,191	83.0
Japanese	37,219	19,353	52.0	3,135	16.2	1,649	8.5	14,569	75.3
Filipinos	27,403	16,331	59.4	132	.8	99	.6	16,100	98.6

\* "Mexican" here refers to Mexicans according to the census of 1930 (see footnote to Table V) and not to "persons born in Mexico," the figure used in column one of the preceding table.

Filipinos came in large numbers during the Twenties, and continue to move about the valleys of the state, working in large gangs.

The principal outside source of labor to meet the rapidly expanding needs of intensive crops after about 1910 was Mexico. Especially during and after the War, until checked by administrative action in 1929, they immigrated to the United States and California in large numbers. Beginning with 1930, however, the force of economic depression caused a strong net movement back to Mexico.<sup>2</sup> During the same period, but particularly since the drouth of 1934, thousands of rural native whites from the Southwest have fled to California, where they joined the ranks of migratory laborers.<sup>3</sup> In a number of rural areas, their replacement of Mexican laborers has been notable.

The extent to which the Mexicans and Orientals in California were engaged in agriculture in 1930 is shown by Table VI. The Chinese had almost entirely left agriculture by that date. Only 12.9 per cent remained, 83 per cent of whom were laborers, and 13.9 per cent were farm operators. Fifty-two per cent of the Japanese engaged in all occupations were still in agriculture, 16.2 per cent as farm operators, an additional 8.5 per cent as managers or foremen. Only 75 per cent of Japanese were laborers.

One-third of the Mexicans engaged in all occupations were engaged in agriculture, according to the census. Probably this greatly understates the true situation, since large numbers of Mexicans who work seasonably in agriculture resided in urban centers on the census date, and probably were recorded as laborers rather than as farm laborers. Nearly all of the Mexicans who were engaged in agriculture, 96.7 per cent, were farm laborers. Almost 60 per cent of the Filipinos were engaged in agriculture, of whom practically all were laborers.

The use of alien workers on California farms has markedly complicated the adjustment of economic and human relations in agriculture.

<sup>2</sup> Paul S. Taylor, "Mexican Labor in the United States: Migration Statistics IV," *University of California Publications in Economics*, Vol. XII, No. 3.

<sup>3</sup> See the article by the present writers, "Drought Refugee and Labor Migration to California, June-December 1935," *Monthly Labor Review*, February, 1936.

It produces conflicts which are at times of violent intensity. It creates problems which will require patience and firmness if they are to be solved. The place of these groups together with that of other labor groups in contemporary California agriculture will be analyzed in another article.

# Social Attitudes of the Czechoslovakian Peasant Towards the Other Occupational Groups

*Antonín Obrdlík*

THE CZECHOSLOVAK peasant, like all other peasants, has his own attitudes which are determined, in addition to other factors, by his occupation and by the environment wherein he lives and works. His proximity to the soil determines most of the characteristics of his material as well as his spiritual life. As seen from numerous sociological studies which analyze rural life, the peasant is markedly characterized by traditionalism and egocentrism. This consciousness of self-importance is expressed by the typical peasant in Central Europe who says, "If the peasant has nothing, the landlord also has nothing." He is well aware that his work benefits the whole social unit. But is he not misled by his egocentrism to overlook the importance of other occupations? Is he aware of his interrelation to the other units of the social whole, whereby all occupations are interdependent? Answers to these questions will be offered as a result of the present investigation.<sup>1</sup>

The following questions were given to the various groups of Czechoslovak people:

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<sup>1</sup> This study is a part of numerous concrete investigations organized by the sociology department of the Masaryk University (Brno, Czechoslovakia), under the guidance of Dr. In. Arnošt Bláha, head of the sociology department. The author summarizes here a section of the "Questionnaire" submitted to the various groups of Czech people for the purpose of ascertaining the attitudes of the public opinion with regard to the concept of general welfare. Several hundred answers were received from twelve different occupational groups. This study summarizes only the data from the seventy-four questionnaires answered by peasants.

1. Rate the following occupations according to their importance in promoting the general welfare: artisan, priest, politician, teacher, peasant, worker, engineer, physician, soldier, artist, merchant, lawyer, industrialist. If you consider an important occupation is missing from this list, add and rate it.
2. Why do you consider the first three occupations in your rating as the most important?
3. Can our state get along without any of the above occupations if it is to improve the welfare of its citizens and successfully compete with other nations? Which ones? Why?

The purpose of the first question was to determine the comparative importance of different occupations to the representatives of the peasants. The second question was to justify the evaluation of the first three occupations. The third question was to help explain the answers to the first two and to determine more fully the evaluations given certain occupations.

Of a total of 74 peasants, 12 answered the first question in a general manner without offering any classification; for instance, "All occupations are of the same importance for the creation of a general welfare." Of the remaining 62 answers, 55 placed the occupation of the peasant first. It is not surprising, indeed, that the peasants placed their own occupation at the top of the scale, but it is rather surprising that this did not happen in every case. In two cases the priest, and in five cases the teacher were rated above the peasant. This shows that the egocentrism of the peasant is not so narrow and blind as is often assumed. But the placement of the peasant in the first place does not explain everything. It will be necessary to notice the order of classification of the other occupations, and especially the justification of this order. In the majority of cases, the four following occupations, out of a total of 13, were named in the first three places: peasant-worker-teacher, 17 times (30.9 per cent); peasant-worker-artisan, nine times (16.4 per cent); and peasant-teacher-artisan, six times (10.9 per cent). Other first ranking trinities were as follows: peasant-teacher-soldier, four times (7.3 per cent); peasant-priest-worker, three times (5.5 per cent); peasant-worker-soldier, three times (5.5 per cent); peasant-priest-physician, twice (3.6 per cent); peasant-worker-physician, twice (3.6 per



cent); and peasant-worker-politician, twice (3.6 per cent). The occupations in the remaining first ranking trinities (12.8 per cent) which occur only once may be summarized as follows: peasant, six times; teacher, four times; physician, three times; worker and priest, twice each; and artisan, politician, soldier, and merchant, once each.

It is obvious that primarily the peasant has a sense of solidarity with other manual workers (factory-workers and artisans) and that he also appreciates the importance of education (the teacher). Next in importance was the physician (seven times) and the soldier (eight times). As the peasantry is often considered the most religious element of the nation, it is surprising that minor importance is given the religious occupation. The priest occurred in the first trinity only seven times. Likewise, the politician was placed in the upper three occupations only three times.

Placing the peasant in the first place is justified by the argument that he is "the original producer" or "the provider of the necessities for all other groups." We learn, for instance, that "food must first of all be guaranteed before the other classes can pursue their occupations." In the majority of other cases, the answers were variations of this theme. In favor of other occupations, we quote a 57-year-old owner of a small farm: "The occupation of a conscientious teacher, to whom is entrusted the education of our youth in the most pliable age, can be rightly considered as meritorious as the occupation of the physician who aims to conserve the national health. The laborers of all categories also substantially help to promote the general welfare of the nation."

The answers to the second question can be classified into four categories. The first is formed by the 26 answers (35.1 per cent) which considered all of the occupations necessary for the maintenance of the general welfare. The second group is formed by four answers (5.4 per cent) which expressly stated that all occupations are not necessary for this purpose. In the third group we place the 41 answers (55.4 per cent) which acknowledged that each occupation is important but considered the first three the most important. The fourth group is com-

posed of three vague answers (4.1 per cent). All in all, nine-tenths of the answers show that all occupations are considered important for the maintenance of general welfare although they are not all of the same importance. (This statement is based on the assumption that the answers from the first and the third groups can be combined).

The answers repeatedly emphasize that the occupations must be carried out conscientiously and faithfully. It is especially noticeable that the peasant realizes the dependence of his occupation on others. Many describe this dependence by clear parallels, some as a chain in which they are only a link, and others as a machine of which they are a cog in the wheel.

In the answers to the third question, this liberal attitude towards other occupations is not so evident. Out of 74 answers, 44 (59.5 per cent) were negative (*i.e.* the state must include all occupations if the citizens are to prosper and if the state is to be able to compete with other states), 22 (29.7 per cent) were positive, and eight (10.8 per cent) were vague. Among the negative answers was strong criticism of some of the occupations. These objections were directed against the lawyer 11 times, industrialist six times, merchant four times, priest four times, politician three times, the middleman in business three times (this occupation was added to the original list by some of the group), and the soldier twice. Two people expressed their dissatisfaction with the social situation of the peasant because of the disadvantage which he suffers in comparison with other social classes. At other times, doubt was expressed about the importance of some occupation for the public welfare. Sometimes an occupation was considered a positive hindrance to public welfare. The lawyers were the group attacked most frequently. The priest was opposed in some cases because "only a few priests today are really priests, most of them being agitators for political parties and thus destroying the faith of the people in the church." The content of the condemnation of the politician is evident from the statement of a 61-year-old renter: "Politics is the main evil of the nation and the state."

The fact that the peasant does not evaluate certain occupations formalistically should be especially mentioned. He realizes that even the best occupation can be reduced in importance if carried on by the wrong person. In one case, for example, the second place is given to the teacher "who is aware of his mission." In another case, the word "priest" (also in second place) is followed by "if a good person!" Other statements of this kind could be cited.

Finally, it is of interest to know which occupations were placed at the bottom of the scale or in the lower trinity. In some cases the ratings do not include all thirteen occupations. Hence in this comparison we consider only the 47 answers which rated at least eight occupations. The lawyer is placed at the bottom 14 times (29.8 per cent), the priest four times (17 per cent), the politician and artist each six times (12.8 per cent), the industrialist and engineer each four times (8.5 per cent), the merchant three times (6.4 per cent), and the soldier twice (4.3 per cent). In the lowest trinities (also 47 cases) the artist-lawyer-politician appeared six times (12.8 per cent), the politician-priest-lawyer and the artist-lawyer-priest six times each (10.6 per cent), the politician-soldier-lawyer, the lawyer-industrialist-priest, the engineer-lawyer-artist, the merchant-artist-lawyer, and the merchant-lawyer-priest twice each (4.3 per cent). The remaining lowest trinities (44.7 per cent) occur only once each, and the single occupations may be summarized as follows: lawyer, 16 times; engineer, artist, merchant, industrialist, eight times each; politician, five times; priest, four times; soldier, three times; physician, twice; and teacher, once.

Special mention must be made of the answers to the first question in which the occupations were not classified singly but in groups. Particularly significant is the answer of a 37-year-old peasant (of a middle peasant class and a graduate of a law school): "I cannot place any single occupation before another. In order to rate them according to their *economic* importance, I would group them as follows: (1) peasant-worker-artisan-industrialist; (2) teacher-politician-engineer-physician-priest; and (3) merchant-lawyer-artist-soldier. Within each group the occupations are of equal importance. If I am to classify them,

however, according to their importance *for the formation of public welfare*, then I would place the second group first and the first group second as I think that the first group, being purely productive, is not able by itself to produce and safeguard the public welfare." This man, of course, realizes the interdependence of different social groups because of his education. But it would be a mistake to take this answer as the exception, or to ascribe it solely to his higher education. In fact, other answers, given by simple persons with little education, show so much common sense that we are justified in speaking about the advanced popular sociological sense of the peasants' wisdom gained from their life experiences. The proof may be the words of a small peasant, 64 years old and with a grammar school education, who states: "All occupations are important, but each, of course, in an appropriate time. As a peasant, for instance, I need a smith, a wheelmaker, and a locksmith; if I am sick, I need a physician; and I am sending my children to be taught by our teacher. So each profession finds its value in due time." There is no doubt that such individuals are the cement of the social order as they are able to avoid the injurious results of social exclusiveness.

All the answers were also analyzed from the standpoint of religious affiliations. There were 61 Roman Catholics, five members of the Czech Brethren Church (Protestants), three of the Czechoslovak National Church, and five "without confession." In all cases except one the non-Catholics placed the priest in the lower half of the classification; the exception placed the priest fourth. The Catholics were divided into two groups. One, including nearly two-thirds of the sect, showed no religious preference and no relation between religious and political adherence. Although they were Catholics, they were members of the Czechoslovak Agrarian Party and not of the existing Czechoslovak Catholic Party (*strana lidová*). The second group, on the other hand, showed a strong relation between the religious and political convictions. Although they are peasants, they belong to the Catholic political party. This is shown very clearly in the respective classifications: the Catholics always placed the priest within the upper half of their scale (two of

them even placed him at the top), while the "Agrarians" gave him a less important place (from the sixth to the thirteenth) and sometimes even omitted him entirely. Preference for the priest over the teacher is given in only two cases. In short, occupation is not the only factor in the determination of attitudes to other occupational groups. We must also consider political and religious convictions, age, sex, education, and so on.

When we compare the results of our investigation of peasants with the results we have obtained in a more general study of the attitudes of the different occupational groups, we reach some interesting conclusions. In Table I we present some results from the larger survey of the occupations included here, showing how many times each has been placed first as the most important by each occupational group. In the last column is shown the percentage of the individual occupations appearing in first place. It will be observed that the peasant has been placed first in the scale in nearly one-half of all cases (47.9 per cent). All other occupations fall far below this: the teacher ranks first in only 19.0 per cent of the cases; and the worker in only 10.3 per cent. If we analyze the table in more detail, we notice that all 12 of the groups have most frequently placed the occupation of the peasant first. There isn't a single exception to this. Thus, it is obvious that the peasant class receives the highest verbal approbation in Czechoslovakia.

Table II also bears out this conclusion. In no case in the total classification has the occupation of the peasant been placed last. This also holds for the teacher and physician.

Hence the results of this investigation of the "professional antagonism" of the Czechoslovakian peasant can be summarized as follows. He places his own occupation first most often. He is proud of it because he realizes the importance of his work for the welfare of the whole nation. He values the work of laborers and artisans next and thinks highly of the teacher as well as certain other occupations. It cannot be said that the peasant's professional antagonism appears in any definite form, but that does not prove that it does not exist. Although nine-

TABLE I  
CLASSIFICATION OF OCCUPATIONS PLACED FIRST BY THE DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Occupations	Occupational Groups												Percentage	
	Peasants	Workers	Independent Businessmen: I <sup>1</sup>	Merchants	Independent Businessmen: II <sup>2</sup>	Public and Private Employees <sup>3</sup>	Public Officials <sup>4</sup>	Private Officials <sup>5</sup>	Public and Private Officials <sup>6</sup>	Teachers: I <sup>7</sup>	Teachers: II <sup>8</sup>	Soldiers		Total
Artisan.....	..	3	9	4	..	4	2	1	1	..	..	1	25	3.68
Priest.....	2	4	2	1	..	1	4	..	..	..	1	2	17	2.51
Politician.....	..	1	6	1	2	5	10	7	6	10	2	4	54	7.95
Teacher.....	5	16	10	1	5	12	21	16	14	18	6	5	129	19.00
Peasant.....	55	25	35	13	6	23	60	31	22	26	12	17	325	47.87
Worker.....	..	13	11	..	2	12	13	9	..	4	2	4	70	10.31
Engineer.....	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	4	0.59
Physician.....	..	4	3	..	2	1	6	4	1	8	4	2	35	5.15
Soldier.....	..	..	..	..	..	1	4	2	1	..	1	1	10	1.47
Artist.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.....
Merchant.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.....
Lawyer.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.....
Industrialist.....	..	..	1	3	1	2	1	2	..	..	..	..	10	1.47
Total Number of Cases.....	62	66	77	23	20	61	121	72	46	66	29	36	679	100.00

<sup>1</sup> Of lower category

<sup>2</sup> Of higher category and liberal vocations (musician, dancer, journalist, etc.).

<sup>3</sup> Grammar school education only.

<sup>4</sup> Of a lower category (the highest the graduates of a secondary school).

<sup>5</sup> Of a lower category (the highest the graduates of a secondary school).

<sup>6</sup> Of a higher category (students of higher institutions of learning).

<sup>7</sup> Primary.

<sup>8</sup> Of secondary schools and professors of higher institutions of learning.

TABLE II  
CLASSIFICATION OF OCCUPATIONS PLACED LAST BY THE DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Occupations	Occupational Groups												Percentage	
	Pasants	Workers	Independent Businessmen: I <sup>1</sup>	Merchants	Independent Businessmen: II <sup>2</sup>	Public and Private Employees <sup>3</sup>	Public Officials <sup>4</sup>	Private Officials <sup>5</sup>	Public and Private Officials <sup>6</sup>	Teachers: I <sup>7</sup>	Teachers: II <sup>8</sup>	Soldiers		Total
Artisan.....	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	3	0.58
Priest.....	8	20	13	3	5	15	27	15	5	21	10	5	147	28.38
Politician.....	6	6	5	2	4	7	21	4	14	4	2	6	81	15.64
Teacher.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	....
Peasant.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	....
Worker.....	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0.19
Engineer.....	4	1	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	8	1.54
Physician.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	....
Soldier.....	2	7	10	2	1	1	6	4	3	6	3	2	47	9.07
Artist.....	6	6	7	1	1	4	8	5	4	3	2	5	52	10.04
Merchant.....	3	1	4	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	12	2.32
Lawyer.....	14	7	9	6	3	9	29	15	8	22	5	13	140	27.03
Industrialist.....	4	3	4	3	..	2	6	2	..	1	..	2	27	5.21
Total Number of Cases.....	47	51	54	17	15	38	99	47	34	59	23	34	518	100.00

<sup>1</sup> Of lower category.

<sup>2</sup> Of higher category and liberal vocations (musician, dancer, journalist, etc.).

<sup>3</sup> Grammar school education only.

<sup>4</sup> Of a lower category (the highest the graduates of a secondary school).

<sup>5</sup> Of a lower category (the highest the graduates of a secondary school).

<sup>6</sup> Of a higher category (students of higher institutions of learning).

<sup>7</sup> Primary.

<sup>8</sup> Of secondary schools and professors of higher institutions of learning.

tenths of the answers to the second question in our questionnaire seem to indicate that all occupations have their importance, we have discovered in many cases that some of the individuals were prejudiced against some occupations or at least had doubts as to their general usefulness. It is not our task to find out whether these judgments are justified; we are interested in attitudes and not in ethical evaluations. As typical of the antagonism of the peasants to the professions, we can consider their attitudes regarding lawyers, merchants, industrialists, and politicians when these last are looked on as corruptionists and grafters. We cannot speak, however, of a typical general attitude of the whole peasant group. For instance, the soldier and the priest are condemned by some and appreciated a great deal by others. As far as other results of this study are concerned, we refer the reader to the respective places in the text, especially to the importance of other determining factors.



# Rural Educational Institutions and Social Lag

*Roland R. Renne*

IT is an oft repeated fact that our ability to regulate and improve human relations has failed to keep pace with our ability to utilize inanimate substances and energies. This lagging of the societal arts behind technical progress has caused much human suffering and misery. The causes of this social lag are numerous and complex, but it cannot be denied that the administrative and financial organization within which our institutions operate is a very important factor contributing to increase or decrease this lag.

It may be true, as Laski points out, that institutions are but the necessary expression of the social order in which they are involved, and that educational institutions seek to discipline the younger generation to the ethos of the society concerned.<sup>1</sup> But careful analysis of some of our institutions, particularly our rural schools, will convince the student of social problems that they are not at present so organized and administered that they can do this effectively. Certain fundamental economic forces and great technological developments have caused profound changes in the structure and organization of industry and living in recent years. No such corresponding changes have been made in the administrative and financial machinery of our rural educational institutions to adapt them to these new forces and conditions, and to make it possible for them to serve present society effectively, or to put them in

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<sup>1</sup> See Harold J. Laski, "A New Education Needs a New World," *The Social Frontier*, II, (February, 1936).

a better position to serve future generations effectively under the conditions that likely will be established if present trends continue.

There are five principal shortcomings of the present system of administration and support within which the rural schools operate,<sup>2</sup> which account, in a large measure, for some of our present social maladjustments. These are: (1) unequal educational opportunities between rural and urban children and between children of different school administrative units; (2) unequal tax burdens between rural and urban taxpayers and between taxpayers of different school districts; (3) inadequate support for education, particularly during depression periods, and especially in agricultural districts; (4) failure to maintain economic balance between the various income-producing groups within the country; and (5) lack of the proper educational environment to teach effectively the social rather than the individualistic point of view. All of these result directly or indirectly from the present widespread system of local school support and administration and the almost complete reliance upon the general property tax. Unless these shortcomings are corrected, social lag will be increased in the future because the resulting maladjustments will be cumulative in their effects.

#### UNEQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

A comparison of the length of school term, school facilities, and the training and experience of teachers of various school administrative units shows the existence of large inequalities in educational opportunities for children. The average length of school term for the United States as a whole was 172 days in 1933-34, the average for city schools being 184 days, compared with 162 days for rural schools. Nearly 16 million children had school for nine months and over; more than five million had terms of eight months; nearly one and one-half million, six to seven months; nearly a million, four to five months; and more than two million were deprived of any schooling.<sup>3</sup> In 1932 the average

<sup>2</sup> While the data in this paper are largely for grade schools, nevertheless, many of the conditions and trends indicated are also applicable to rural high schools.

<sup>3</sup> See "The Deepening Crisis in Education," *Leaflet No. 44* (Office of Education, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C., 1933), p. 5.

number of days that the schools were actually in session was 171.2, or about eight and one-half months, for the entire country. In 10 states the average school term was 180 days or more; in 28, from 160 to 179 days; in eight, from 140 to 159 days; and in three states it was less than 140 days.<sup>4</sup> But school terms are not uniform for the schools within a given state. In the case of Montana, for example, the average length of school term for the 2,643 grade schools operating in 1934 was 175.6 days, but 33 schools (all rural) held school less than 100 days, and 72 more (all rural) held school between 100 and 140 days.

Similar inequalities exist in the case of school facilities. The average value of school property per pupil enrolled in city schools in the United States in 1932 was \$353. In rural schools it was only \$143, or but 40 per cent as much. The value of city school property per pupil enrolled ranged from \$144 in Georgia to \$460 in New York, and the value of rural school property from \$47 in Georgia to \$460 in Nevada. In 12 states rural school property is valued at less than \$100 per pupil enrolled.<sup>5</sup> In the case of Montana, 73 schools (all in rural districts) had no library books, and 97 others (all in rural districts) had libraries of less than 25 volumes. A total of 471 schools, of which all but 19 were in rural districts, had cross lighting, and 114 schools were held in shacks classed as "unsuitable for school use" by county superintendents.

Data showing the training and experience of teachers in rural and urban schools are not available for the United States as a whole. In the case of Montana, however, rural teachers are not so well trained or experienced as city and town teachers. Approximately 15.5 per cent of the grade school teachers employed by first- and second-class districts<sup>6</sup> had four years or more of college training, while in third-class districts

<sup>4</sup> See the *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1930-1932* (U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C., 1934), p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>6</sup> School districts in Montana are divided into four classes: (1) first class—with 8,000 or more people, employing a superintendent with at least five years' public school experience, controlled by a board of seven trustees; (2) second class—population of from 1,000 to 8,000, employing a superintendent with at least three years' experience, controlled by five trustees; (3) third class—population under 1,000, employing a principal, controlled by three trustees; and (4) rural districts—employing no principal or superintendent, under direct supervision of county superintendent, and controlled by three trustees.

12.6 per cent of the teachers had such training, and in rural districts only 7.5 per cent, or less than half the proportion in first- and second-class districts, had such training. Only three per cent of the grade teachers employed by first-, second-, and third-class districts had less than two years of college training, while 34 per cent of those employed by rural districts had less than two years of college work. Of the 542 grade teachers employed by first- and second-class districts for the school year 1935-36, and for which data showing their teaching experience are available, only nine, or 1.7 per cent, were teachers who had no previous teaching experience. Similar data were secured for approximately half of the teachers employed by third-class and rural districts, and 3.8 per cent of the teachers in third-class districts had no previous teaching experience, whereas 6.3 per cent of the rural district teachers were teaching for the first time. Of the total teachers in the state with no previous experience, four-fifths were employed by rural districts in spite of the fact that rural districts hire but about one-half of all the grade teachers employed in the state.

One of the main reasons why rural teachers are not so well trained or experienced as city and town teachers is that many of the small, poor rural districts cannot pay the salaries which the larger, more thickly populated and wealthy districts can and do pay. The average salary paid school teachers in the United States during the year 1933-34 was \$1,050, and the average paid city teachers was \$1,416, while that paid rural teachers was \$750.<sup>7</sup> In the case of Montana, the average salary paid grade teachers in first-class districts in 1933-34 was \$1,441, that paid teachers in second-class districts, \$1,129, in third-class districts, \$1,031, and in rural districts, \$639, or but 44 per cent as much as in the first class.

In the face of the above inequalities in educational opportunities between rural and urban areas, is it possible for our rural children, who will be the rural leaders (state legislators and county officers) of tomorrow, to keep pace in their thinking and their attitudes with the needs of a changing society? And because of these unequal opportuni-

<sup>7</sup> "The Deepening Crisis in Education," p. 6.

ties for many rural children who will later migrate to the cities and become workers in industry and business, will there not be a considerable lag in the time social adjustments are needed and the time they will understand and appreciate how and what adjustments should be made? These adjustments may be urged or adopted by many leaders who have had better educational opportunities, but if the masses are poorly educated and not well informed generally, how prompt and complete will such adjustments be?

### UNEQUAL TAX BURDENS

Schools in most of the states are supported largely by local taxation, as can be seen from the following proportionate amounts of the total revenue received from various sources in 1932: federal aid, 0.4 per cent; state, 19.9 per cent; county, 8.9 per cent; and local, 70.8 per cent. This large reliance upon local taxes, comprising as much as 95 per cent of the total school revenue in some states and more than 98 per cent in the case of Kansas, makes the burden of supporting the schools fluctuate with general conditions and taxable valuation in each of the small local communities. There are more than 127,000 school districts of varying size and wealth in the United States, and consequently the chances for inequalities in tax burdens between taxpayers in the same county or parts of the same county are greatly enhanced by this extreme decentralization of administration and support.

Montana illustrates quite well the inequalities in school burdens which may result from a combination of extreme decentralization of administration and a heavy reliance on local taxes. The state is divided into 2,116 school districts, and the taxable valuation per census child<sup>a</sup> varies between districts from \$122,260 to \$60, the average being \$2,141. A total of 404 districts, or nearly one-fifth, had taxable valuations of less than \$1,500 per census child in 1934, while nearly this same number (393) had more than \$6,000, or over four times as much. A levy of 20 mills on \$1,500 of taxable valuation would yield only

<sup>a</sup> Property in Montana is taxed on a percentage of its full and true value, varying with the kind of property according to the classified property tax law effective in 1919. Taxable value is equal, on the average, to about one-third of the full and true value.

\$30 per child, whereas the average operating cost per grade school pupil for all districts in Montana in 1934 was \$70.47. Consequently, these 404 districts have a taxable valuation far too small to support schools adequately without confiscatory levies. An additional 780 districts had taxable valuations of between \$1,500 and \$3,000 per census child, which is not enough to support schools adequately without other aid.

The effects of these inequalities on the distribution of school tax burdens can be seen from the variation in school millage levies in the different districts. In 1934, district levies varied from none to 68 mills. More than two-fifths (889) of the 2,116 districts had levies of less than 10 mills; 125 of these had levies of less than 2 mills, of which 86 made no levies at all, and about 200 had levies of from 2 to 5 mills. On the other hand, 980 districts had levies of from 10 to 20 mills, 180 of from 20 to 30, and 67 districts had levies in excess of 30 mills.

Much of this variation between districts in Montana in their ability to support schools is due to the method of allocating public-utility taxable valuations. Nearly one-half of the districts (1,034) have no public-utility taxable valuation, all but four of these being rural districts. On the other hand, 287 districts (none rural) have over \$100,000 public-utility taxable valuation, five of which have over \$1,000,000 each. Public-utility taxable valuation makes up over 80 per cent of the total valuation in 43 districts, and in seven of these it comprises over 90 per cent. Some very small districts, with few or no children, whose boundaries parallel a railroad have large public-utility allocations, enabling them with a high taxable valuation per child to levy very low taxes to support their schools. Other districts adjacent to these get no public-utility allocations although they may ship more produce over the railroad and also have more children to educate. These districts must levy much higher taxes on their land and other property to support their schools. In 1934, the average school-district levy, in those Montana districts having none or less than 25 per cent of their total taxable valuation in the form of public-utility taxable valuation, was 12.7 mills; in those districts with from 25 to 50 per cent, 12.9 mills;

in those with from 50 to 75 per cent, 10 mills; and in those with over 75 per cent, 6.7 mills.

Enlarging the tax base for school support by increasing the size of districts, i.e., decreasing the number of districts, or changing the taxing unit from the local district to the county or state obviously would eliminate many of these inequalities in school tax burdens. Under the present system of district administration the poorest districts are taxed the heaviest, which in turn makes them still poorer and less able to provide good schools as time goes on. Thus the spread between the wealthier areas and the poorer sections tends to widen. The undesirable social consequences of such a tendency are obvious. Yet only very feeble attempts have been made in most states to reduce these inequalities materially. In the case of Montana, only 542 of the 2,116 school districts received any equalization-fund aid from the state in 1934, and only 205 of these received an amount equivalent to what would be raised by a levy of 10 mills on the property within their own districts. Thus, the average aid given the majority of districts is extremely small and not enough to reduce materially the present inequalities in school tax burdens and educational opportunities between districts.

But, granting that changes were made in the system of financing schools to equalize burdens within a state, rather large inequalities would still exist between property owners in different states because of the concentration of wealth in industrial areas. For example, the average wealth per school child for the United States as a whole is \$10,200, while that for 12 Southern States is \$4,900, or less than half as much, Mississippi having only \$3,600 per school child while some industrial states have as high as \$28,000. When put on an annual-income rather than a taxable-property basis, similar inequalities exist. The average annual income for the country as a whole is \$2,171 per school child, while that for the 13 Southern States is but \$872. Industrial states such as New York, New Jersey, and California have more than six times as much annual income per school child as Mississippi.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Data quoted from "School Money in Black and White," recently published by the Julius Rosenwald Foundation, by Roscoe Pulliam in "Economic Depletion and School Finance," *Educational Administration and Supervision*, XXII (February, 1936).

But all states of the South except one are spending more for schools, in proportion to their total income, than the Northeastern and North Central industrial states. Before any considerable equality in school tax burdens and in educational opportunities between different states can occur, a significant portion of the school revenues must be secured from federal taxes. At the present time the amount of school income received from federal sources makes up less than one-half of one per cent of the total school revenues.

#### INADEQUATE SUPPORT FOR EDUCATION

Thus far we have noted how the present administrative and financial machinery, or institutional setting within which our schools operate, causes great inequalities in educational opportunities and tax burdens between communities, particularly between rural and urban areas both within and between states. These shortcomings have a significant bearing on social lag in a democracy where the continuance of good government and social progress depends upon a well-informed and responsible electorate. But these inequalities might still exist and yet the total financial support for schools as a whole be fairly adequate. This is not the case, however, and the institutional setting referred to above is largely responsible.

It is a widely observed fact that during the present depression, when governmental spending has been increasingly heavy and has been offered as a means of pulling us out of the slough, spending for schools has been seriously curtailed. This is not because our citizens think it dangerous to support the schools during a depression, or that they feel the educational service is any less desirable than many other public services. As a matter of fact, they probably will tell you they believe education is absolutely essential and that it is more important than many other public services.

This apparent paradox is explainable only if we analyze the methods by which the various public services are financed. In the case of such services as roads, conservation and development of natural resources, the army and navy, and recovery and relief, the costs are met either



through bond issues and taxes secured later to pay off the bonds, or, through tax revenue secured currently by varied and indirect means. These include the tariff, various excises, personal and corporate income taxes, and other taxes, most of which are characterized by a rather circuitous or not easily traceable route from the taxpayer's pocket to the support of the public service in question. In contrast to this, four-fifths of the total school revenue is raised by the little local district or county from general-property tax levies. In some states as much as 98 per cent is so raised. Even in some states where the state government contributes considerable for school support, this revenue is raised from a state-wide millage levy on general property. Less than one-half of one per cent of total school revenues is raised by the federal government, the agency which uses most extensively indirect taxation or more flexible taxes based on net income. Thus, the support of schools is local, personal, and direct, and it is a sociological fact that the more direct and easily traceable the route of the tax dollar from the taxpayer's pocket to the support of the particular governmental enterprise, the more likely is that enterprise to be criticized or curtailed when economic conditions pinch ever so lightly.

This whole problem of financial support of our educational institutions is, then, a matter of primary versus secondary group relationships carried into the field of public finance. Unless and until more of our school revenue is secured through indirect or secondary-group means, the financial support of our educational institutions will lag behind that for many other less essential public services, with resulting serious social consequences. This will be particularly true in rural communities where the means of support is peculiarly direct and personal, and where a combination of factors noted above already makes it difficult to maintain educational opportunities comparable with those available in the more highly industrialized and urban areas. The example of what occurred in the closing of schools in Kansas during the depression, where more than 98 per cent of the total school revenue is raised through local district levies, is a case in point. During the school year 1933-34, some 700 rural schools were not opened in that state because

of lack of funds.<sup>10</sup> Consider the fate of our highways today, if they were still financed largely by local or county levies on general property. The large decrease in local levies for roads in the last few years—in many instances reduced to zero—would have been strongly urged regardless of whether federal and state aid and the less direct means of assisting in the financing of construction and maintenance of the highways had increased to the level it has. And, it is inconceivable to think that the amounts currently spent on roads would be raised by the local district levies which were formerly the main source of support. Are not our schools, charged with the duty of training the future citizens of the state and nation, as important as our roads?

#### FAILURE TO MAINTAIN ECONOMIC BALANCE

The present system of financing schools, with its emphasis upon general property taxes, also tends to create and increase a lack of balance between various producing groups within our society, and thus increase economic and social maladjustments. The purpose of a good tax system is twofold: (1) to obtain revenue, in the most efficient manner possible, for the support of certain services considered desirable and which can be better administered and financed by group action; and (2) to maintain a balance between producing and consuming power within a country so that unemployment, unused factories, and other such serious maladjustments do not occur or are kept at a minimum. To do this requires a system of taxation which makes each citizen pay for the support of public services largely in proportion to his ability to pay. The general property tax, the principal and, in many areas, practically the sole support of the schools, does not do this.

In more primitive times, before much invention of laborsaving devices and the resulting division of labor and specialization, property owned was in the form of tangible goods and undoubtedly was the best single indicator of ability to pay. But as the corporation sprang into being, an effective means of acquiring the large amounts of capital and management required to reap the advantages of modern machinery

<sup>10</sup> "The Deepening Crisis in Education," pp. 8 ff.

and large-scale outputs, and the essential credit and financial machinery was perfected to make possible the indirect or roundabout production process, a new type of property decidedly intangible came into existence. Today liquid claims (bank deposits, cash surrender values of life insurance companies, and stocks and bonds) constitute about two-fifths of the total national wealth of the United States. And what is more significant is the fact that the net proportionate addition to liquid claims in the decade 1922 to 1932 was greater than the entire increase of liquid claims during the first century and a half of the life of the country.<sup>11</sup>

Naturally this wealth has tended to centralize in the more industrial and urban areas, and the centralization has been far out of proportion to the corresponding centralization of population. Money and ability to pay have been drained from the small rural and unindustrialized communities to become spending power elsewhere. The belief that for every dollar that goes out of a local community for automobiles, tractors, machinery, etc., another dollar comes back for wheat, cotton, hogs, etc., is based rather naïvely on the assumption that a freely competitive system and equilibrium economics exist. Even a very superficial survey of the way prices of different kinds of goods are determined today will prove the fallacy of this reasoning. Compare the controlled or administrative prices of certain industrial products with the individualistically competitive prices of agricultural products. The lack of parity between industrial and agricultural prices which has resulted is the basis for the present administration's agricultural program.

To continue financing our rural educational institutions through small local communities and the general property tax is primitive and antiquated. Not only do our rural, and the poorer of our urban, areas fail to have the educational opportunities of the more wealthy industrial areas, but they are also continually taxed more in proportion to their ability to pay, with the result that the relative purchasing power of farmers and citizens in the lower income levels is continuously depleted.

<sup>11</sup> See A. A. Berle and B. J. Pederson, *Liquid Claims and National Wealth* (New York, 1934).

The social consequences of such depletion have been quite obvious in the last few years. A tax system based largely on ability to pay is the most effective and reasonable means of preventing such tendencies. The fact that the types of taxes which must be applied to get intangible property to pay its share for the support of public services are usually very difficult and uneconomical to administer, except on a state-wide or federal basis, is another argument for changing the size of the basic unit for the support of our schools.

#### LACK OF PROPER EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

From earliest times adults have made some more or less formal effort to prepare their young folk to take over the machinery and processes of society. In primitive times this training process was largely through play and through actual participation in the serious work of the adult group. But as the size of the social group increased and the processes of production and distribution became more complex, there was more to be learned and so a longer time and more conscious effort and special training were required to teach the young effectively. It can be said, therefore, that education, which is a necessity of life because it is the means of adapting the individual to his environment and to the solution of problems that have to be met, is influenced by and, in fact, dependent in its subject matter and methods upon the structure and aims of the society in question. The children must be taught to think and act through a school environment which will duplicate as much as possible, or at least approach in some manner, the conditions of living which they will actually encounter when their formal training period is completed. It is the contention of the writer that those conditions are now, and will be in the future, vastly different from what they were in our fathers' generation, and that our institutions, particularly our schools, must be changed accordingly if we are to keep economic and social maladjustments to a minimum.

The concentration of control in American industry to the point where 200 of the largest corporations now control 55 per cent of all the indus-

trial wealth (excluding banking) of the United States,<sup>12</sup> and where in some lines such as certain fields of manufacturing and retailing almost all the business is done by corporations,<sup>13</sup> means that hundreds of thousands of producers and workers have been coördinated under the management of a single executive or administrative board. Our entire way of living—of producing, buying, and selling—has tended more and more toward action in larger and larger groups, the secondary or impersonal relationships continually displacing the primary, face-to-face relationships.

It is not the intent of the writer to dwell at length upon the social implications of this process. It is sufficient to point out the economic and social instability which accompanies it, the increase in divorce and suicide rates, the demand for large increases in federal expenditures for relief, recovery, and public welfare at the same time that drastic reductions are demanded in local taxes and services. These are social problems which must be met successfully if society is to advance. But living and working in larger and more impersonalized groups mean that human beings must learn to think and act in larger and more impersonalized groups. Is not the school the logical place to teach them to think and act thus, since the school plays an increasingly important place in our children's training for life? Are our schools, operating within the present administrative and financial machinery, providing the training and the environment which will do this? Among the 127,000 school districts of the United States are thousands of small, inadequately supported, poorly equipped schools which have extremely small enrollments. There are between 7,000 and 8,000 schools maintained for five pupils or less, 250 of these each operating for one bewildered child, 750 for two children, 1,500 for three, 2,250 for four, and 3,000 for five.<sup>14</sup> These enrollments are for the first eight grades, which means that in

<sup>12</sup> See A. A. Berle and G. C. Means, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property* (New York, 1933).

<sup>13</sup> See H. W. Laidler, *Concentration of Control in American Industry* (New York, 1931).

<sup>14</sup> See W. H. Gaumnitz, "How Small Are Our Small Schools," *School Life*, XX (May, 1935).

most cases there is but one child per grade and several grades with none. An additional 16,000 schools have enrollments of seven or less, and 52,000 more have 12 or fewer.

The numerous school districts, relics of pioneer days, are usually too small to represent any community of interest. Instead of helping to draw the citizens of a given trading center or community closer together as a unit, they actually split up a natural economic and social unit into several jealous, independent groups. Numerous incidents can be related as evidences of the antagonisms aroused over petty differences in school districts, and of how jealously small districts guard their control over the school. For example, in the hiring of a teacher it is sometimes required that she have one or two children. This enables the district to operate a school and prevent abandonment of the district by the county superintendent, who has authority in some states to abandon districts after a certain period has elapsed in which no school has been held.

Local interest in schools is indeed desirable, but when carried to such extremes it emphasizes the worst phases of extreme individualism and selfishness. Can children in such an environment develop adequately the attitudes and ways of thinking and acting which they will have to develop to orient themselves in the comparatively large, impersonalized group activity which characterizes a more socialized society? Will the children in these one-, two-, three-, four-, and five- pupil schools be well trained and equipped to take their place in such a society, when the clash of minds so necessary to the development of reasoning power or mental alertness and a broad and more cosmopolitan point of view is so completely lacking?

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It is not the intent of the writer to convey the impression that the present administrative and financial machinery within which our schools operate is the cause of all the ills of our present social system, or that it is all that is wrong with our schools. It is, however, a very important factor, and no matter what advancements are made in the field of

education and learning, these cannot be made universally available within our present poorly financed and uncoordinated system. Larger areas of administration and support and a more diversified tax base would do much to remove present weaknesses. Any service so vital as education to the life of the state, or the people as a whole, is vested with a peculiar public significance and cannot safely be left to be performed by private enterprise, or by any such minor unit of government as our average small school district.

The corporation and the conduct of business and living in larger, more depersonalized groups have arisen with recent technological development and through an evolutionary process have definitely proved their survival value. The ever-widening sphere of social intercourse and contacts of the individual which accompany technological progress will probably preclude any considerable swing back to smaller and more personalized business units, at least for the present. Will this same process of survival of adapted units carry over into our social institutions? This, of course, remains to be seen, but recent data on school consolidations and transportation of pupils indicate a tendency in this direction in our schools. There were 17,248 consolidated schools in the United States in 1934, 400 of these being established in the school year 1933-34. During that year 2,794,724 pupils were transported in 77,042 vehicles provided at public expense. This is more than three times the number transported a decade earlier. The average annual cost per pupil transported has gradually decreased from \$35.38 in 1923-24 to \$19.29 in 1933-34.<sup>15</sup> Similar progress has not yet been made, however, in the method of financing schools by more diversified taxes and increased federal aid.

The process of adaptation of our school system to our present modern environment is far from complete, as the data in this paper show. It is vital that the adaptive process suggested be speeded up, so that the five principal shortcomings resulting from the time lag in adjustments in the administrative and financial machinery of our schools be eliminated

<sup>15</sup> See David T. Blose, "Some Consolidation Statistics," *School Life*, XXI (1936), pp. 223 ff.

or their undesirable social consequences reduced to a minimum. Not until this lag is reduced appreciably can we expect our schools, particularly in rural and less industrialized areas, to train our children adequately so they can orient themselves satisfactorily in our modern environment, much less to perform the leadership our educational institutions should perform in pointing toward, and assisting in securing, a better social order.



# Some Characteristics of Rural Families on Relief in New York State

*W. A. Anderson*

THE PURPOSE of this paper is to indicate some of the characteristics of rural families on relief in New York State. These characteristics should suggest principles from which social policies can be formulated for efforts at rehabilitation. Rural families on relief are economically dependent upon society, but for definite reasons. There are some common characteristics that mark the relief family type.

Likewise, after this depression is over, the problem of aiding rural families who need assistance will not have been forever solved. To give permanent record to those characteristics that mark families who must have aid in periods of economic stress may assist in meeting future situations, or aid in preventing such conditions on so wide a scale.

The data presented are a summarization of three separate studies of relief families conducted in rural New York State by the department of rural social organization of Cornell University in coöperation with the Division of Research, Statistics, and Finance of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

All of the information was obtained by the use of schedules prepared by the Division of Research, Statistics, and Finance of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. They were DRS-3 C, "A Survey of Rural Families Receiving Relief in October 1933," DRS-77, "Survey of the Rural Relief Situation in October 1934," and DRS-2, "Survey of Rural Relief Families for a Rehabilitation Program."

The relief cases selected for study were those found on the public relief rolls of the respective townships and counties at the time of study.

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The total number of cases included is 2,293. Of these, 264, 11 per cent of all, were in the first study made in Tomkins and Wayne counties; 1,278, 56 per cent of all, were in the second study made in four other counties; while 751, 33 per cent of all, were selected from 17 counties.

No attempt has been made to consolidate by any weighting process the cases included in this study. The cases in each of the three studies were selected by a different sampling method, and since these methods were quite different, it was thought that to weight, by any arbitrary scheme, the various samples in order to compute general averages for the whole would introduce procedures that could not be defended and would give, perhaps, spurious results.

Furthermore, the averages and percentages of each separate study were so nearly alike, except in certain explainable cases, that they appear to have much more validity when allowed to stand alone than if they were thrown together into one sample by a weighting process.

#### PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF THE RURAL RELIEF CASES

Rural was defined in these studies as including all incorporated and unincorporated villages of less than 5,000 inhabitants and the open country. Families on relief in this rural territory reside in the open country in from 36 to 56 per cent of the instances, in villages of from 50 to 2,500 inhabitants in from 34 to 45 per cent of the instances, and in villages of from 2,500 to 5,000 residents in from 10 to 27 per cent of the cases. In other words, from four to six out of each 10 rural relief cases are open-country residents, and from four to seven out of each 10 are village residents.

In five counties of the state, not included in the afore-mentioned studies, of families on relief in the rural areas for the past two years, it was found that in June, 1935, 41 per cent of the 2,855 relief cases lived in the open country, while 59 per cent resided in villages. In October, 1935, 40 per cent of the 2,319 cases on relief lived in the open country, and 60 per cent lived in villages.

Thus, it would appear that the ratio of relief cases living in the open-country sections of New York State to those residing in the villages is about two to three.

The proportion of families residing in the open country or in villages varies with the type of county. But emphasis is usually placed upon families residing in the open country when considering the rural relief situation. In New York State, however, the proportion of families requiring relief aid appears to be larger for villages than for the open country. When relief and rehabilitation programs are developed, this must be recognized and the needs of village families must not be overlooked.

#### THE SIZE OF THE RELIEF FAMILY

Rural relief families contain, on the average, about one more person than is found in the families of the general rural population. This larger size of the relief family is one of the factors associated with the presence of the family on the relief rolls. Likewise, the relief families contain six or more members in about 30 per cent of the cases. Rural families in the general population of New York State contain six or more members in 16 per cent of the cases. Thus, relief families contain six or more members in twice as many instances as do all rural families. This factor, of larger numbers of persons in the family than can be cared for by the bread-winner's earning capacity, is directly related to their presence on the relief rolls. Smaller families might make it less necessary for many cases to require public assistance, and when, in emergency, public help was needed there would be less drain on the public purse.

From eight to 14 per cent of the cases on relief were single persons. The households in the general rural population are one-person households in 10 per cent of the cases. The single persons on relief are, in the main, old persons (widows, widowers, and others who had never married) who had no savings from their work, or had depleted them, who were out of work or unemployable because of physical and mental defects. This type of case cannot, in most instances, be rehabilitated.

They must be cared for by the community. They constitute a real part of the permanent relief group.

#### CHILDREN IN RELIEF FAMILIES

Not only are relief families large, but they contain a significant proportion of dependent children less than 16 years of age. In the Tompkins-Wayne and the four-county studies, 48 per cent of all persons in the relief families were children less than 16 years of age. If all the one-person cases were eliminated and only true families included, the proportion of persons less than 16 years of age would be still greater.

Of the total rural population of New York State, 29 per cent are less than 16 years of age. Thus, there are about 160 children less than 16 years of age in these relief families to every 100 children less than 16 years of age in the total rural population.

Of the 2,682 children in the relief families, where the age of each child was obtained, 2,121 (79 per cent) were less than 16 years old, 526 (20 per cent) were from 16 to 29 years of age, while 35 (one per cent) were over 30 years of age. Thus practically eight out of every 10 children in the relief families were less than 16 years of age, and, therefore, dependent on the family heads.

Among the influences of the depression, with its consequent relief program, none are probably of any greater importance than the effects upon these children. These effects are not only physical and material, but, perhaps more important, they are psychological. Attitudes toward relief, toward work, toward people, and life in general are being developed which will be lifelong in effect. Under the circumstances, it is important that these children be aided to function as normal members of society. Not only must they be provided with food, clothing, medical aid, and other physical necessities in a manner which does not carry stigma, but they should be kept in school and assisted to carry on normally, particularly since relief families are likely to lack strong traditions of schooling.

## THE AGE OF THE HEADS OF RELIEF HOUSEHOLDS

The character of families on relief in rural areas is indicated, likewise, by the ages of the heads of the households. It is commonly assumed that these families are likely to be the older families. In fact, however, the families are fairly young. The average age of the heads of the households in the Tompkins-Wayne study was 41.3 years while in the 17-county study, it was 45.2 years.

The heads of families were between 18 and 50 years of age in over six out of each 10 cases. In about four out of each 10 cases they were 50 years of age or over.

These families are, in the majority of instances, in the period when they should be most productive. It is not a case of inability to work, but of the inability to find work that has put them on the relief rolls. This inability to find work may lead, through idleness, to an adverse attitude toward work. One of the dangers of the situation is the development of the attitude that people can get along without working. A program that emphasizes valuable work is necessary to avoid such a consequence.

## THE SEX OF THE HEADS OF THE RELIEF FAMILIES

In from 80 to 90 of each 100 of the families the head was a man, but in 10 to 20 of each 100 families the head was a woman. In other words, it appears that rural families on relief are broken families in from 10 to 20 per cent of the cases. Where there is no male head the difficulties of support are greater, and the chances that public aid will be needed are increased.

In each of the three studies, a larger proportion of the village than of the open-country families on relief were without a male head. The open-country family that has lost the help of the father seems to be able to care for itself more successfully than the village family in the same circumstances, and there is a larger relative concentration of broken families in the villages than in the open country.

### THE USUAL OCCUPATIONS FOLLOWED BY MALE HEADS OF RELIEF FAMILIES

The type of occupations followed by the heads of families is important in determining whether the families may eventually need relief. Not more than one-fourth of the heads of relief families in rural areas were in farming occupations, and of these fully one-half were not farm operators, either owner or tenants, but were farm laborers. Only one in 10 of the rural families on relief owned and operated a farm as their usual occupation. The farm laborer in agriculture is somewhat comparable to the unskilled worker in industry and he is more liable to need aid than an operator. The rural relief problem, at least in New York State, is not one of caring for large numbers of families made economically dependent by agriculture. The farming population, especially farm operators, have been able to meet the depression situation in other ways than through public relief.

Fully three-fourths of the male heads of rural relief families followed industrial activities or had no usual occupation. Of these, about one in a hundred were professional or proprietary workers. From 10 to 15 per cent of them followed skilled trades, while 40 to 60 per cent were unskilled laborers. From 15 to 20 per cent of these family heads followed no usual occupation. They depended upon supporting themselves from odd jobs and casual employment. This group contributed largely to the chronic relief population.

The type of occupational activity responsible, therefore, for the large proportion of families on relief, was unskilled labor. It is the farm laborer and the unskilled industrial worker who have been forced upon public relief, and they, with the chronically unemployed and unemployable, make up the rural relief population.

Not only was the proportion of bona fide farmers on the relief roll small, but the proportion of the male heads of rural relief families who had never had any experience as farmers was large. In the Tompkins-Wayne study and the 17-county study, 61 per cent and 73 per cent, respectively, of the male heads had never had any experience as farmers.

Rehabilitation for them must take place through occupations other than farming. In fact, since most were unskilled workers dependent upon industry for jobs, rehabilitation would seem to depend almost wholly upon the revival of industrial activities or the development of public works projects employing unskilled workers.

#### NATIVITY OF THE FAMILY HEADS

Heads of families in the rural relief population are native-born in 85 to 90 per cent of the cases. In about one in each 10 cases the family heads are foreign-born.

In 1930, there were in the rural population of the state, defined as including, in general, residents in the open country and in villages of 2,500 or less population, 7.6 per cent foreign-born persons. The studies of the rural relief population included, besides those residents in the open country and in villages up to 2,500 inhabitants, those residents in villages of from 2,500 to 5,000 population. If the foreign-born population who lived in these villages was added to the 7.6 per cent above mentioned, about 10 per cent of the foreign-born population of the state would be found residing in the area sampled in the relief studies. It would appear that the foreign-born population of the rural areas, then, does not contribute a larger proportion to the rural relief population than it constitutes of the total population. Certainly the contribution is not so much greater as to attract attention. Families of foreign-born persons do not contribute abnormally to the relief load of the rural areas.

#### EDUCATION OF THE FAMILY HEADS

The heads of rural relief families are not well equipped educationally. The average number of school grades completed by those in the Tompkins-Wayne study was 6.0, while those in the 17-county study had completed 6.8 grades. Over eight out of every 10 of them had completed only grade school or less, while between 15 or 20 per cent had attended high school, a small proportion of whom graduated. One per cent of these heads of families had some college or professional school training, but none of them were college graduates.

Though one cannot say that lack of schooling was the factor that made them require public relief, the limited education possessed by these family heads made it decidedly difficult to make vocational adjustments, for their range of occupational activities was narrow.

#### THE TYPE OF RELIEF RECEIVED

The type of relief received by the families at the time these three studies were made, indicates that in 1933 and the early part of 1934, direct relief was the major form of assistance given rural families. Thus in October, 1933, Tompkins and Wayne counties gave direct relief only to 86 per cent of the families. Then works projects under varying sponsors began to appear and in the 17-county study only 40 per cent received direct relief as of October 1934, while 48 per cent received work relief only.

But even as late as October, 1934, four out of each 10 of the families in the 17-county study were receiving direct relief only. Among those receiving direct relief, there were many who were unemployable for various reasons, such as incapacity, age, and the like, yet a large number were employable.

#### THE NUMBER OF YEARS ON RELIEF

Of the families studied in Tompkins and Wayne counties as of October, 1933, 12 per cent, and of those studied in the 17 counties as of October, 1934, 14 per cent had received relief four or more years; that is, they were receiving aid from public relief agencies in 1930. Information was not obtained for the years prior to 1930 in the 17-county study, but in the Tompkins-Wayne study, one in each 10 families receiving aid in October, 1933, had received relief help before 1930. It appears from all the data available that not more than one in each 10 rural families on relief in October, 1934, had been on public relief before the depression period. These are undoubtedly the chronic relief cases.

After 1930, however, the proportion of the families receiving aid each succeeding year increased. In the Tompkins-Wayne study, where



a four-year span was covered, four of each 10 families had received aid only the one year, that is, in 1933, but in the 17-county study, where a five-year span was covered, only one in each three had received aid the one year, that is, in 1934. In both studies, one in three families had received aid two years, while 13 per cent in Tompkins-Wayne, and 21 per cent in the 17 counties were aided three years. As the emergency period lengthened, an increasing proportion of the families required assistance.

### SUMMARY

If, then, these facts be summarized, the following are some of the chief characteristics of the rural families on relief in New York State:

Families on public relief in the rural areas of New York State reside in villages and in the open country in ratios of three to two. Rural relief problems in this area, therefore, are more problems of village residents than of open-country residents.

Rural relief families are larger than the families in the general rural population by one person on the average. This larger number of persons to support is a factor in placing them on relief.

Rural relief families contain about 160 children less than 16 years of age to every 100 children of the same age in the general rural population. The effects of relief programs and depression conditions upon them is of major significance.

The average age of the relief family heads is between 40 and 45 years. They are in what should be the most productive period of life, but inability to find work, more than inability to work had forced them into idleness and upon relief.

The head of the family was a man in 80 to 90 out of each 100 cases. But from 10 to 20 of each 100 families were headed by a woman. In most of the latter instances this means a broken family, either through death, desertion, or divorce.

The male heads of rural relief families are largely unskilled workers from industry—industrial backwash. In addition, there are farm laborers and a small group who have no usual occupation.

Heads of rural relief families are not farm owners or operators, except in about one in 10 cases. Nor have these family heads ever had farming experience. Foreign families in rural areas contribute no larger proportions of persons to the relief rolls than they constitute of the total population.

Schooling is decidedly lacking among the relief population, the average number of school grades completed by the family head being six.

Direct relief in the form of food orders, clothing, and money constituted the chief aid given these families.

The relief history of the families showed increasing proportions are remaining on the relief rolls, year by year, since 1930.

# Some Observations on Oklahoma Population Movements Since 1930

*Robert T. McMillan*

RECENT population movements in Oklahoma have been motivated largely by such economic forces as the drouth; unemployment in exhausted oil fields, coal, lead and zinc mining areas, and urban centers; and the low prices for farm products. In the mixed trends resulting from the processes of economic readjustment, agriculture has had to accept the residual elements of the population. This is true for the period covered by the depression and it may be expected to continue in the immediate future.

The data for this discussion were taken from the 1930 and 1935 Censuses of Agriculture, annual state school enumerations, information gathered in the rural relief population studies of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and personal observations of the writer gained from traveling since 1930 in 70 of the 77 counties in Oklahoma.

During the period from 1930 to 1935 there has been an exodus of farm population from southwestern counties. (See Map 1.) Two explanations of this movement may be offered. First, the excessive drouth of 1934 preceded by two years of below-average rainfall greatly reduced cotton production. Second, farm labor has been displaced by the growing use of mechanized farming methods. Low prices for cotton have caused farmers to substitute "sledding" for hand-picking. Furthermore, tractor farming has led to larger farm units and subsequent savings in labor costs.<sup>1</sup>

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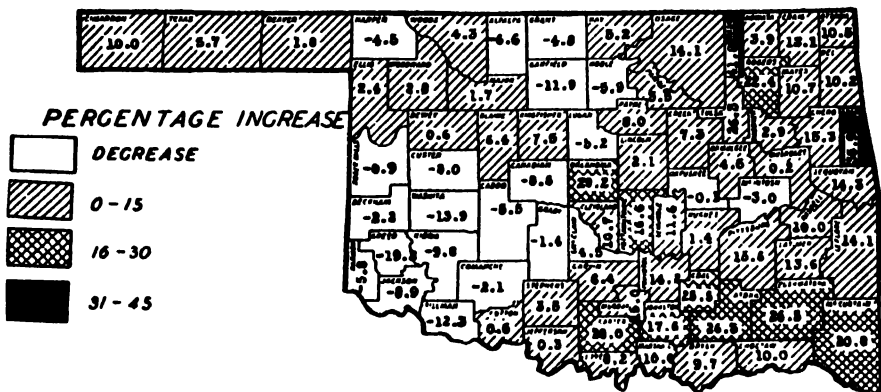
<sup>1</sup> For discussion of this point see P. H. Stephens, "Mechanization of Cotton Farms," *Journal of Farm Economics*, XIII (1931), 27-36.

TABLE I

PERCENTAGE CHANGES IN AVERAGE ACREAGE PER FARM AND IN NUMBER OF FARMS IN FOURTEEN SOUTHWESTERN OKLAHOMA COUNTIES, 1930 TO 1935

County	Percentage Increase in Average Acreage Per Farm	Percentage Decrease in Number of Farms
Total.....	11.33	7.4
Jackson.....	13.96	8.9
Tillman.....	11.28	12.3
Harmon.....	15.53	5.8
Greer.....	20.69	19.2
Commanche.....	1.27	2.1
Kiowa.....	19.95	9.8
Backham.....	12.27	2.2
Washita.....	20.41	13.9
Roger Mills.....	4.96	.9
Custer.....	7.70	8.0
Caddo.....	10.42	5.5
Grady.....	2.95	1.4
McClain.....	7.28	4.5
Canadian.....	8.83	8.6

The data in Table I show that substantial increases in the average size of farm units have occurred in the southwestern Oklahoma counties which experienced decreases in the number of farms between 1930 and 1935.



MAP 1. Percentage Changes in the Number of Farms in Oklahoma from 1930 to 1935. (1935 Census of Agriculture.)

The regions to which the drouth-stricken population has migrated are not clearly evident from the data at hand. It is apparent from available information that, in some degree, refuge has been sought in eastern Oklahoma where wood and water are plentiful and land is abundant. No doubt the self-sufficing type of agriculture prevailing in much of eastern Oklahoma also attracts farmers whose resources have been reduced by mortgage foreclosure and scarcity of credit. However, observations give rise to the belief that part of the decrease of population in southwestern Oklahoma cotton counties has been due to migration from the state.

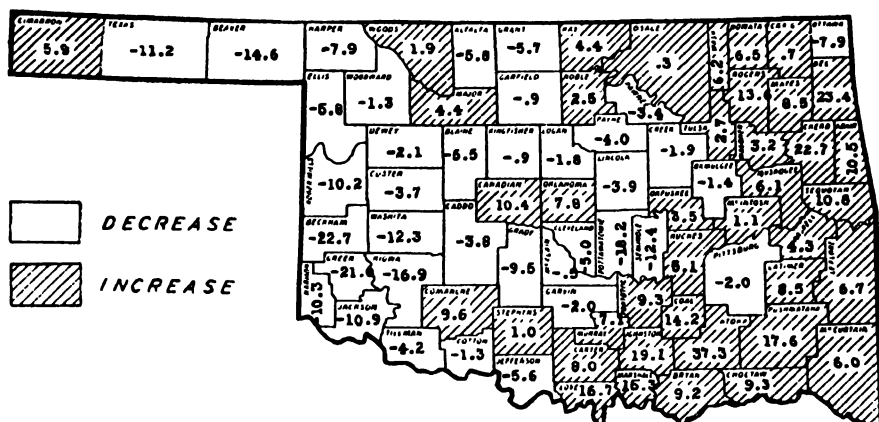
Large numbers of displaced oil-field workers and miners have moved back to the land. Increases in the number of farms in Osage, Washington, and Carter counties are probably attributable to an increase of unemployment in declining oil fields. In Pottawatomie, Seminole, Pontotoc, and Johnston counties, centers of current oil developments, the increases in farm population probably were caused by partially unemployed laborers being forced onto the land as part-time farmers in order to secure food, fuel, and housing at reduced money costs.

The counties having extensive mining districts suffered population losses from 1920 to 1930 on account of the general decline in the industry and the better opportunities for employment outside the region, but the depression may have modified this movement bringing about considerable settlement on farms within the counties involved.

A less pronounced trend is the back-to-the-land movement induced by unemployment in urban centers. In 21 of 29 counties containing cities which have a population of 5,000 and over, an increase in the number of farms between 1930 and 1935 is noted. However, oil and mining industries are located in one-half of these counties. Also, a strong countermovement has been under way for nearly a decade, the evidence of which may be viewed in the poorer sections of the cities. Shacks, crudely built from packing boxes or discarded galvanized sheeting gathered from the city dump-yards, rise like mushrooms to house the beggars of private and organized charities, and the sellers of porch

furniture, artificial flowers, needles and pins, etc. Much of this population is the backwash of the long depression in agriculture.

As another means of ascertaining internal migration, the annual school enumerations by counties were analyzed. Using Thorntwaite's method of obtaining the ratio of the school population in 1930 to the general population of the same year and applying the ratio to the 1935 enumeration, the population is estimated with what seems to be a reasonable degree of accuracy.<sup>2</sup> Map 2 shows the estimated per cent of net change in the population of the several counties of Oklahoma.



MAP 2. Estimated Per Cent of Net Change in the Population of Oklahoma from 1930 to 1935 on the Basis of Annual School Enumerations. (Sources: Federal Census of 1930 and Biennial Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction.)

Generally it corroborates the indicated trends of the farm population because of the rurality of the state. It goes even further by emphasizing movements of the non-farm population. For instance, in certain counties, particularly those where both extractive industries and agriculture are the bases of economic wealth, decreases in population are noted despite an increase in the number of farms. As might be expected, the proportional changes in population as measured by (1) the scholastic enumeration and (2) changes in the number of farms are not uniform.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> C. Warren Thornwaite, *Internal Migration in the United States* (Philadelphia, 1934), pp. 38-39.

<sup>8</sup> Incidentally, the proportion of persons of school age in the total population runs somewhat higher in counties devoted to self-sufficing agriculture than in other types of agricultural areas within the state.

Thirty-eight counties experienced losses in population according to estimates based on school enumerations, but the gains in 39 counties more than offset the decreases, leaving a net gain for the state of 14,256. Only one-third of the 27 counties having decreases from 1920 to 1930 revealed a continuation of the downward trend from 1930 to 1935. Strangely enough, the counties sustaining the greatest losses

TABLE II  
PERCENTAGE CHANGES IN POPULATION FROM 1930 TO 1935 IN COUNTIES  
SHOWING DECREASES FROM 1920 TO 1930

<i>County</i>	<i>Percentage Decrease 1920-30*</i>	<i>Per cent of Estimated Change 1930-35</i>
Coal.....	37.4	+14.2
Johnston.....	35.0	+19.1
Atoka.....	30.3	+37.3
Sequoyah.....	27.2	+10.8
Marshall.....	24.9	+15.3
Choctaw.....	24.9	+ 9.3
Love.....	22.5	+16.7
Bryan.....	20.7	+ 9.2
Latimer.....	19.3	+ 8.5
Beaver.....	18.5	-14.6
Haskell.....	16.4	+ 4.3
Pushmataha.....	15.8	+17.6
Nowata.....	14.4	+ 6.5
Cherokee.....	12.1	+22.7
Grant.....	12.0	- 5.7
Ellis.....	9.7	- 5.8
McCurtain.....	8.3	+ 6.0
Cotton.....	7.4	- 1.3
Alfalfa.....	6.3	- 5.8
Ottawa.....	6.2	- 7.9
Craig.....	5.8	+ .7
McIntosh.....	5.6	+ 1.1
Murray.....	5.4	+ 7.1
Pittsburg.....	3.4	- 2.0
Garvin.....	3.2	- 2.0
Major.....	1.8	+ 4.4
Jefferson.....	1.5	- 5.6

\* These percentages were taken from O. D. Duncan, "Population Trends in Oklahoma," *Bulletin No. 224*, Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station, Stillwater, 1935, pp. 32-34.

during the decade 1920-1930 have had the largest gains in the period since 1930. A partial explanation for this sharp reversal may be that the counties containing considerable quantities of marginal lands, or located nearest to cities or oil and mining centers, are the first areas to gain or lose population according to the vicissitudes of trade and industry.

Data on emigration are not available, but reports from transient relief camps confirm the belief that interstate migration is increasing. If newspaper reports are correct, California, Texas, Arizona, and other states are receiving large numbers of transient families who claim Oklahoma as their residence. It is also true that the Oklahoma Emergency Relief Administration has furnished transportation for the return of many families from these states. One county in central Oklahoma had 15 families brought home from New Mexico, Colorado, California, and other states. Eighty relief families left Harper County, in the drouth area, during the three worst months of dust storms in 1935. Approximately one-half of these families moved out of the

TABLE III  
NUMBER OF RELIEF FAMILIES MIGRATING INTO SURVEY COUNTIES FROM  
OTHER STATES DURING 1930 TO 1935\*

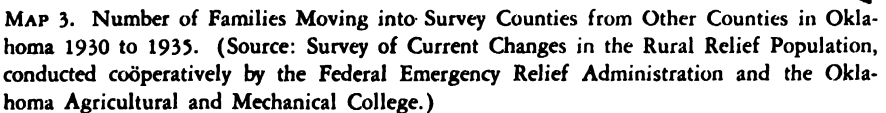
Total.....	234	Louisiana.....	2
		Nebraska.....	2
Texas.....	77	North Dakota.....	1
Arkansas.....	67	New York.....	1
Missouri.....	20	Mississippi.....	1
Kansas.....	17	West Virginia.....	1
California.....	10	Michigan.....	1
Colorado.....	9	Idaho.....	1
Illinois.....	8	Ohio.....	1
New Mexico.....	5	Alabama.....	1
Iowa.....	3	Montana.....	1
Arizona.....	3	Tennessee.....	1
		Kentucky.....	1

\* Data were taken from a study of 5,937 schedules secured in the "Survey of Current Changes in the Rural Relief Population" conducted coöperatively by the Research Section of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College. Assuming 4.5 persons to the family, 26,800 persons, or 1.12 per cent of the total state population, are included in the sample.



The movement of population into Oklahoma is likewise large. In a study of 50 per cent of the rural relief cases in nine representative counties, it was found that 234 out-of-state families had moved into the survey counties in 1930 or the years succeeding.

If federal relief has accentuated migration into counties in which relief payments are relatively large, a study of Map 3 does not reveal



its significance. The aggregate number of relief families moving into survey counties from other Oklahoma counties is shown on the map. The tendency for these families to move into adjacent counties overshadows the broader movements which might result if the sample covered larger geographical areas. It is noted, however, that the move-

ment from counties along the eastern side of the state is less than from the central and western tiers of counties.

At this point it seems proper to discuss some of the characteristics of recent farm movements in Oklahoma. Generally speaking, in depression periods farmward migration increases because of the extreme difficulty in making a living elsewhere, while people already on farms tend to stay there for the same reason. As soon as trade, manufacturing, and the extractive industries expand, large proportions of both the more aggressive and the more improvident elements of the population forsake the farm. In both movements, agriculture is at a distinct disadvantage from social and economic viewpoints.

As reported in the 1935 Census of Agriculture, there was a net increase of 9,459 farms in Oklahoma from 1930 to 1935, a percentage increase of 4.7. But the significant fact is that 5,094 of the new farms, or 53.8 per cent of the net increase, are in counties in which the average value of land and buildings per farm in 1935 was less than \$1,500. In 37 counties, with an average land and building value of \$3,000 or less, there was an addition of 10,914 farms. With two exceptions decreases in farms occurred in the counties having average valuations in excess of \$3,000 per farm.

Further evidence of the strong tendency toward the spread of farming into the areas least capable of supporting more population, is shown in the claim made by the National Resources Board in Oklahoma that 25,336 farms would have to be eliminated from the counties gaining the 10,914 farms in the last five years, if the remaining farms in the area are to have average gross incomes from crops and livestock (based on 1930 Farm Census figures) equal to the state average.<sup>4</sup> In all but six counties, of the 37 with a land and building value per farm of \$3,000 or less, some farms would have to be eliminated, based upon the arbitrary standard used in the calculation.

Several conclusions are reached in regard to the majority of "new"

<sup>4</sup> *Extent and Character of Desirable Adjustments in Rural Land Use and the Most Effective Means of Obtaining Such Adjustments* (Washington: National Resources Board, 1935).

farmers in Oklahoma. Perhaps too much emphasis is placed on those people who are either at, or who are approaching, relief levels, but the generalizations apply to many of the non-relief population as well. First, with few exceptions, the "new" farmers represent the poorest classes—the misfits, socially and economically speaking, in society. Social case workers from the relief agencies characterize these families as having a high incidence of venereal disease, skin and blood diseases, infestation of vermin, malnutrition, malaria and respiratory diseases, and, in certain localities, pellagra, physical defects such as neglected teeth, impaired vision, and malformation of bones. Also, the relief agencies have associated the weakened physical conditions of this population with a high frequency of marital discord, illegitimate children, illiteracy, and wholly unsatisfactory employment histories of the heads of many families. This segment of the population, unable to make a living in towns and cities, has retreated to the country where rent is cheaper, wood and water are free, and food is available by barter, in return for doing odd jobs, or as gifts from families having surpluses. Furthermore, social barriers in the open country are less exacting than in cities and towns, which gives relief families access to schools, churches, and other forms of community participation.

Secondly, the farms to which these families have moved are the poorest lands in the state. For the most part, they are heavily wooded, rough in topography, low in fertility, and subject to extensive soil erosion—from every standpoint undesirable for farming purposes.<sup>5</sup>

Thirdly, the "new" farmers are handicapped by a lack of capital and a shortage of human resources. They have very inadequate teams and equipment, if any; they have neither cash nor credit. On the human side, such resources as health, ingenuity, ambition, and personality are not evident in personal appearances, household environment, or past achievement.

Finally, the combination of deficiencies in men, land, and capital

<sup>5</sup> This is a partial verification of Dr. O. E. Baker's persistent contention that in the future the population of this country is likely to be drawn disproportionately from the areas of the poorest lands.

just outlined foredooms the "new" farmers to difficulty or failure. Without part-time employment from relief, the oil industry, mining, or lumbering to supplement the real income from products raised on the home farm, cash incomes may be insufficient to meet needs for clothing, medicine, and education. In other words, these families may be forced to accept a very low standard of living. Such a condition, if permitted to continue, will aggravate further the social and economic problems of this state.

How long the present population trends will continue depends largely upon changes in the factors producing them. It is fairly certain that satisfactory adjustments will not be initiated wholly within industries now operating in the state. From every indication the oil, mining, and minor manufacturing concerns will be unable greatly to enhance their economic positions.

Fortunately for Oklahoma, a succession of oil discoveries has maintained the hordes of oil-field laborers fairly well for three decades. With the advent of the depression crude oil prices collapsed, bringing about a relatively sudden cessation of activity. No large fields have been discovered since 1930, and the active pools are beyond the peak of extensive development. It is in the earlier stages of drilling that large crews are used. Pumping, transportation, and processing do not draw so heavily on the surplus laboring population. Furthermore, the controlling of production has had a tremendously adverse effect on the demands for labor. In all Oklahoma oil fields men are now working on a part-time basis. While it is conceded that regulation of the industry is necessary to conserve the resources and save the oil companies from financial ruin, the fact must be recognized that labor is suffering most from the present policy. Technological improvements also act as a minor deterrent in re-employment. A cursory study of the situation leads the writer to believe the oil industry, for the next two or three years, will not be able to reabsorb the labor displaced since 1929, principally for the reasons mentioned. With little or no possibility of broad expansion in other industries, the bur-

den of supporting this population element may be expected to fall upon agriculture.

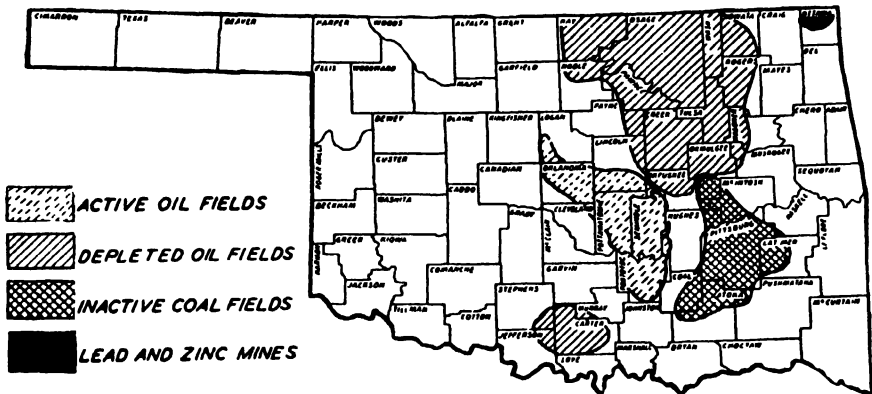
The depression in Oklahoma's coal mining industry began when the World War ended. Proof of this statement is seen in the population movement from mining counties during the postwar decade ending in 1930. Since the beginning of the general depression the outward movement of miners is believed to have lessened. Lacking the opportunity for employment in other extractive or manufacturing industries, miners settled on farms. There are still hundreds of unemployed miners waiting for the mines to reopen. During 1934 and 1935 some improvement has occurred, but two factors are hindering recovery, namely, competition from the use of oil and gas as fuel, and the inability to produce and transport coal as cheaply as out-of-state companies. In seeking possible solutions for readjustment subsistence farming, with part-time employment in the mines, is fairly promising. At least, the present trend seems to be in this direction.

Ottawa County, in the northeastern corner of the state, has 4,000 unemployed lead and zinc miners.<sup>6</sup> The important position of the Tri-State District in the lead and zinc industry makes its prospects for re-employment much brighter. But the county is populated far beyond its capacity for self-support. To date no practical solution, other than relief, has been proposed.

It may be concluded from the foregoing discussion that the factors contributing principally to the mobility of population in Oklahoma are: (1) due to the relative newness of the state, sufficient time has not elapsed for the population to become fully absorbed into the existing economic patterns; (2) the depletion of such natural resources as soil fertility and petroleum has reached a point where, under prevailing market conditions, the state may only support its present population at increasing costs or with a lower standard of living; (3) the surplus population has tended to migrate into areas in which self-sufficing

<sup>6</sup> The National Re-employment Service had 5,767 male registrations in February, 1935. The estimate on the number of miners unemployed was made by the director of the NRS offices and the administrator of the county ERA.

agriculture alone cannot afford more than the necessities of meager existence; (4) the drouth specter in recent years is responsible for much of the instability of the population in western Oklahoma counties; (5) the mechanization of agricultural production has led to labor displacement; and (6) the decline of out-of-state markets for non-agricultural products, such as oil, coal, lead, and zinc, has necessitated an occupational shift from the extractive industries to agriculture.



MAP 4. Active and Depleted Oil Fields and Mining Areas of Oklahoma Having Stranded Population.

# Forms and Problems of Culture-Integration And Methods of Their Study

*Pitirim A. Sorokin*

## PART II

### LOGICO-MEANINGFUL INTEGRATION OF CULTURE AND METHODS OF ITS STUDY

BOTH the causal-functional and the logico-meaningful methods of interpreting the culture-integration serve as ways of arranging the infinitely numerous and complex phenomena of the socio-cultural world into comprehensible systems. What we style the socio-cultural world consists of endless millions of individual objects, events, processes, and fragments having an infinite number of forms, properties, and relationships.<sup>1</sup> With a respective change we can say of it what is said of the whole universe. "The universe is infinite—unbounded in space and time and infinitely complex. In its infinite complexity it cannot be known and understood through direct sensory perception."<sup>2</sup> "It is absolutely impossible for the human mind to know the universe through considering separately all its singular forms."<sup>3</sup> Not even a small part of the universe can be known and grasped in all the complexity of its infinitely numerous and diverse separate forms, events, and elements.<sup>4</sup> If we had no means of arranging this infinity or any part of it, we should be lost in chaos, and no comprehensible understanding of it would be possible.

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<sup>1</sup> See especially H. Rickert, *Die Grenzen der naturwissenschaftlichen Begriffsbildung* (Tübingen-Leipzig, 1902).

<sup>2</sup> A. A. Tschuproff, *Očerki po teorii statistiki* (St. Petersburg, 1909), p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Rickert, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> Tschuproff, *op. cit.*, pp. 1 ff.

The same is true of the socio-cultural universe. To our perception it appears to be a complicated and inexhaustible chaos of infinitely numerous and diverse fragments. The investigator of cultural and social phenomena stands in a position not unlike that of the man with the jigsaw puzzle. He has before him millions of socio-cultural fragments: births, deaths, marriages, divorces, card games, elections, meals, friendships, quarrels, concerts, exhibitions of paintings, lectures, discussions, Congressional debates, acts of the government, religious movements, wars and revolutions, bills by the Pope, manifestoes of the dictators. Every copy of a newspaper gives him thousands of pieces of the most heterogeneous news—scattered pages, as it were, from the book of culture—as different from another and as unrelated internally as they can be. Any large cultural configuration is made up of millions of such various fragments. None of us perceives directly the culture of any area as something whole which is bound compactly and comprehensively in a book, or packed in a box, or depicted upon a single canvas. At any moment during the whole span of our life we perceive mainly this infinity of singularistic fragments.

One of the main ways of bringing order out of the chaos of the whole universe, as well as of the cultural world, is furnished by the causal-functional formulae of integration. They give us the *patterns of uniformity* that are to be found in the relationships of a vast number of individual components of this infinite chaos. By means of these formulae we can reduce the chaos to a series of comprehensive systems in which we are more easily oriented and which permit us to distinguish more important from less important aspects. Causal-functional formulae, like the Newtonian Law of Gravitation, sum up briefly a prodigious number of separate relationships. They resemble a beam of light that cuts across chaotic darkness through all its unlimited depths. This, with proper reservations, can be said of any causal formula. It achieves its purpose by establishing a *uniformity* of relationship between the variables under scrutiny. Through it a vast concurrence of fragmentary events, forms, objects, and relationships becomes a comprehensive whole. When the formula shows that



the variables A and B—depression and the birth-rate, modes of production and ideological forms, psycho-social isolation and suicide, urbanization and crime—are more or less uniformly associated with one another in the sense that B normally follows A or changes with A, this *uniformity* binds the variables together, introduces a readily understood causal order into disorder.

Different in nature, but similar in function, is the rôle of the *logico-meaningful method of ordering chaos*. Here, however, the ordering element is not uniformity of relationship between the fragmentary variables, but *identity of meaning* or *logical coalescence*. Hidden behind the empirically different, seemingly unrelated fragments of the cultural complex lies identity of meaning which brings them together into consistent *styles*, *typical forms*, and significant *patterns*. If, therefore, *uniformity of relationship is the common denominator of causally united phenomena, in the logical-meaningful union it is identity of central meaning or idea*.

The procedure involved in arranging the scattered pages of a treatise, or putting into a comprehensible unity the individually meaningless fragments of a jigsaw puzzle is, as we have seen, a concrete example of such a logically-meaningful ordering. Of course, if the socio-cultural conglomeration—the scattered pages, or the fragments of the puzzle—do not belong together, the procedure is impossible. But this means only that where there is no factual logical unity in the cultural conglomeration, one cannot find it, and if one tries to impose it upon the mass one commits an error similar to that of finding or imposing a causal relationship where it does not exist.

Thus we see that the systematizing natures of the causal and of the logico-meaningful principles are different, but that their cognitive functions are similar; both serve the same purpose, each in its own way; both sum up in their formulae large accumulations of events, objects, relationships; both connect into a unity chaotic masses of fragments. Both are necessary for a study of the socio-cultural phenomena—each in its own field. Obviously, on the level of the logically integrated

layers of culture the logico-meaningful method is much more important than the causal.

Let us, therefore, continue the comparison of both methods, further defining the type of cultural complexes to which each applies, and the character of their resultant unifications.

B. The causal method, especially in the natural sciences, obtains its formulae mainly through breaking up complex phenomena into their simpler units; and the more general the formula, the further the reduction of complex to simple, until ultimate simplicity—the atom, electron, proton—is reached. Studying the relationships between these simplest, and therefore universal, units and discovering the nature of their uniformity, the causal method offers *eo ipso* formulae of uniformity which are also universal in their application. For, since all the complex material systems consist of the simple universal units, their uniformity becomes the pattern for all the more complex phenomena. These units are, as it were, the common denominator of all functional integration in the natural world. They are, so to speak, the "stuff" that permeates all complexes and makes them all causally related in the way in which the individual units are related to one another.

In the logico-meaningful method of formulating unifying principles such a procedure is impossible. Despite the endless efforts of a legion of social scientists, simple social atoms or units have not been found and cannot be found, so far as the logically-integrated part of culture is concerned.<sup>5</sup> One cannot indicate what the "cultural atom" is in literature, painting, music, science, philosophy, architecture, or in any other similar compartment of culture. Instead, the logico-meaningful method has its own common denominator for relevant phenomena: *it is the identity (or similarity) of central meaning, idea, or mental bias, that permeates all the logically related fragments.* Because of this, all the fragments in question are identical or similar in their significance; all of them have the same common denominator which binds

<sup>5</sup> See my discussion of the various mechanical theories as well as "organismic" theories in *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (New York, 1928), chaps. i and iv, *passim*.

them together, conditions their relationship, makes them a unity. In this sense, in the cultural world identity of central principle, idea, or norm plays a rôle analogous to that of the atom, proton, electron, or other ultimate unit universally common to all the material systems.

C. The functional or causal connection of separate units is almost always inferential and external; it rarely gives us an intimate or internal comprehension of the connection. Through experimental, observational, or statistical manipulations we find that two variables, A and B, seem always to go together; they either coexist, or follow one another, or vary together. But why do they do so? Why is the force of gravitation in direct ratio to the mass, and in inverse ratio to the square of the distance? Why does the volume of gas vary in inverse ratio to the pressure? Why do oxygen and hydrogen, under certain conditions, become  $H^2O$ ? We do not know. All we know is that, within the limits of our perception, they have usually done so, and that they will probably continue doing so in the future. Beyond this externally observed connection, we have no intimate understanding of such associations. For example, if somebody could demonstrate that the rate of divorce and the use of yellow leather shoes fluctuate together, we would have to agree that they were connected functionally, though we should have no understanding of why it was so.

We have a different feeling in regard to logically integrated unities. The properly trained mind<sup>6</sup> apprehends, feels, perceives, senses, and understands the supreme unity of Euclid's or Lobachevsky's geometry of perfect mathematical deduction; of Platonic metaphysics; of Phidias' Athena; of a suite or concerto by Bach; of Shakespeare's drama; of the architecture of the Parthenon or the Cathedral of Chartres. Such a mind comprehends their sublime unity internally, intimately; often feels it immediately and directly; senses it without any experimental

<sup>6</sup> It is true that for their apprehension talent and training are necessary, just as they are necessary for the discovery and apprehension of causal or functional liaisons. To an untrained mind the causal and incidental associations are about the same; such a mind does not make causal discoveries. So let not this point be invoked by the narrower-minded causalists, as an objection to either the existence of, or the objectivity of apprehending the logico-integrated unities.

or statistical manipulations and without indirect reasoning. It is given to such a mind axiomatically, so to speak, as the supreme certainty to which inference can add nothing. If by chance the torso of the Venus of Milo were found in one place and its head in another, when they were brought together their belonging to one another would be self-evident; while if to the head of the Venus was added, let us say, the body of the Egyptian Sphinx or of Bernini's St. Teresa, their heterogeneity would also appear at once. If, in a manuscript of music supposedly by Bach, there were found several bars similar, let us say, to the music of Honegger or Gershwin, a trained musician would understand at once that they were there through some mistake. If, in a volume containing several chapters of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*, one found included chapters similar, let us say, to the writings of Dorothy Dix, their incongruousness immediately would be perceptible. In other words, the logico-meaningful unities are much more intimately comprehensible, more readily perceived, than are causal-functional unities.<sup>7</sup> Common speech strikingly differentiates the two types of integration. We employ the word "cause" for the causal-functional relationships; but, for the higher unity of logic and meaning we use the word "reason" ("the cause of it is," and "the reason of it is," or the *raison d'être*, etc.).

D. The primary difference between the causal and logico-meaningful connections leads to a further derivative difference between them. The essentially external nature of the causal association in many cases precludes our grasping the relationship between discrete variables in time or space. If variables A and B are neither met with regularly,

<sup>7</sup> It is to the credit of W. Dilthey that he stressed especially strongly, though mainly psychologically, this difference. "*Die Natur erklären wir, das Seelenleben verstehen wir.*" The purpose of the causal-natural sciences is to find the relationship between objects and variables (zwischen den Gegenständen), while that of the *Geisteswissenschaft* is an understanding (das Verstehen) of the objectivizations of life through the personal life-experience of each who desires to understand. As such it gives direct and immediate comprehension. See W. Dilthey, *Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften* (Leipzig, 1883), Bk. I; also "Der Aufbau der geschichtlichen Welt in der Geisteswissenschaften," *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie, philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 1910, pp. 1-112. His world of the *Zweckzusammenhänge* is similar to, but not identical with, what I call the world of the Logico-Meaningful Integration of Culture. In other respects there is a profound difference between Dilthey's system and that developed in the present work.

nor coexist, nor follow one another in immediate sequence, nor vary together uniformly, such variables cannot be declared to be connected causally. Even if theoretically a causal chain exists between them (as is possible from the standpoint of "singularistic causality"), it cannot be discovered and understood, and therefore (for the observer) practically amounts to its non-existence. The situation in regard to logico-meaningful connection is considerably different. Theoretically, and frequently in fact, this sort of association is comprehensible, even when the interrelated fragments are met with at quite different periods, in quite different places, and only once or a few times. Conversely, the mere fact that we regularly observe the variables A and B in causal association does not necessarily mean that they are logically and meaningfully integrated.

If one meets but once and in one culture (say the Egyptian) a belief in the hereafter, funeral rites, and the practice of mummifying the body, this one case is sufficient to establish the logical connection of these three elements. Or, if one finds only once the association of a dominant philosophical materialism, the naturalistic style of painting, and the economic and mechanistic interpretation of history, this case is sufficient to make clear that they belong together logically, though on the basis of one case we cannot say anything of their causal connection. On the other hand, suppose a scientist would (on the basis of a large number of "cases") prove that the variables A and B, say the number of yellow leather shoes in use and the divorce-rate, always vary together. Such an exceptionless causal association in no way forces us to conclude that the elements are united logically and meaningfully. A competent person could listen as many times as he liked to a musical composition where jazz and crooning are interspersed with bars from Tchaikovsky, Stravinsky, or Wagner, without needing to conclude that such musical compositions are logical and consistent unities. Suppose we find a large number of houses in the classical style with a Gothic tower superimposed. This does not prevent the conclusion that such houses are architectural "hash," and for the same reason that we would declare illogical the conclusion, "Socrates is immortal,"

from the premises which should establish his mortality, or the answer "six" to the question, "How much are two and two?" There certainly must be *causes* for such illogicality; but, no matter how frequent such answers are, or how many people make them, they still remain illogical. This shows once again that the causal and logical forms of connection are governed by entirely different principles.

It frequently happens that the presence of the logical connection between variables is accompanied by their causal cohesion. The discovery of a logico-meaningful relationship is often one of the best symptoms of a probable causal link as well. But not every causal association is followed, necessarily, by a logical connection. All the causal-functional connections in the field of the natural sciences, for example, and many in the field of human culture are lacking logical bonds. And this throws light on the mixture of different architectural forms, opposing musical styles, disparate premises and conclusions which were cited above as examples of illogical, non-logical, and alogical combinations, which might yet be causally explicable.<sup>8</sup>

E. Causal-functional connections vary so greatly in degree of intensity that we have not only cases in which we are reasonably certain of the causal nature of the association, but also others in which we are not certain whether the association is really causal or merely incidental (*post hoc propter hoc* and the like). Similarly, the closeness of logico-meaningful integration also varies from the sublime unity to that barely perceptible, and merges into the lower grades of association. The greatest values in all the important compartments of culture represent, as a rule, the logico-meaningful synthesis in its most intense form. A mere heaping up of various bits of information, on

<sup>8</sup> This means that, with the exception of the logically integrated part, culture is not so much non-logical or illogical, as Pareto claims, as alogical, or outside the category of the logical or non-logical. If the volume of gas is inversely proportional to the pressure, this causal uniformity is neither logical nor non-logical. The same is to be said of any causal relationship. On the other hand, Pareto greatly underestimated the extent of the logical aspects of the Graeco-Roman and Western cultures. As we shall see, the highest layer of these cultures—the logically integrated part of it—was in fact far more extensive than he thought.

the contrary, has seldom acquired the distinction of being considered a great scientific or philosophical contribution; nor has a mere hodge-podge of various styles made great music, painting, or poetry. It is not incidental that the very term "eclectic" has a negative connotation, even in its application to supposedly impressive achievement in these fields of cultural creation.

F. Causal integration, being external and inferential, exists supposedly in the inorganic, organic, and superorganic worlds. Logico-meaningful unity can be looked for only in the fields of the phenomena that involve human thought and imagination; that is, in the field of human culture, and there only in the parts resulting from the activity of the human mind, whether this activity is scientific, religious, philosophical, artistic, moral, or technical.<sup>9</sup> *Meaningful and logical integration by definition can exist only where there is mind and meaning.* Elsewhere there are but causal, external, or spatial unities. This means that in the lower levels of culture (if culture be understood in the broadest sense), on the levels, that is, of the bio-social layer of socio-cultural phenomena, we can find unities of this kind only where there is an indirect influence from the higher levels. On such levels the causal and other looser relationships dominate.

G. A corollary to this statement is that, since the *highest values in any great culture belong to the class of the logico-meaningful unities, this level gives the culture its socio-cultural and logico-meaningful individuality*, its specific style, its physiognomy, and its personality. When we speak of the Greek culture of the fifth century B.C. as unique, we do not refer primarily to the enormous layer of traits that lies below the highest level. How the Greeks supplied their physiological needs, ate, slept, worked, loved, fought, and earned their means of subsistence is of secondary importance. We refer first and most of all to the specific logico-meaningful systems created by their great men of genius

<sup>9</sup> If a thinker seeks this sort of integration for the entire cosmos, believing that it has an intelligent plan and logico-meaningful unity, he assumes invariably the existence of a Supreme Mind which was its creator. But in this present work I am not concerned with such problems; my analysis is confined entirely to human culture.

—such men as Phidias, Praxiteles, Aeschylus, Pindar, Sophocles, Polygnotus, Socrates, and Plato. And this is true of any other culture or cultural period so far as its highest form of individuality is concerned.

H. Causal relationships and the formulae which describe their uniformities vary widely *in the extent of their applicability*. Some have a very limited range of pertinence; others are relevant to an infinitely great number of cases. Newton's Law of Gravitation is more general, covers a much larger class of phenomena, than Kepler's laws. As was previously pointed out, the greater the progressive reduction of phenomena from more complex to simpler, the broader will be the applicability of the causal formula which expresses their relationship.<sup>10</sup>

In a similar fashion the logico-meaningful principles of integration in the cultural world vary in range of applicability. They begin with the narrow principle which describes the coalescence of a few components of infrequent occurrence in a limited cultural scheme. An example is the concurrence of images of anchor, dove, and olive branch in the frescoes of the Catacombs with the peculiar contents of the early Christian funeral prayer. They end with the principles which explain and fit together millions of cultural fragments of wide distribution in space and time. The hedonistic or utilitarian principle gives sense and unity to many scattered phenomena in a large cultural conglomeration, which includes such elements as large-scale kidnaping, get-rich-quick schemes, emphasis on the practical in arts and science, wine-women-and-song morality, and the philosophy of pragmatism with its utilitarian tenet to the effect that if the belief in God is useful, God exists; if not, God does not exist. But there may be a broader principle in which utilitarianism becomes only a small subordinate frag-

<sup>10</sup> Out of millions of facts science chooses those "which can serve us many times," says H. Poincaré; and such facts permit the formulation of causal formulae with the largest general relevance. The same idea is expressed by E. Mach in the statement that science concentrates its attention on "those elements that are the same, and amidst all multiplicity are ever present." When the uniformities in their relationships are understood, the "laws" which result become applicable to similar associations throughout the universe. See H. Poincaré, *Science et méthode* (Paris, 1920), pp. 8 ff.; his *Dernières Pensées* (Paris, 1913, pp. 11 ff.; E. Mach, *The Science of Mechanics* (Chicago, 1902), pp. 5 ff. and 77-78; A. Comte, *System of Positive Polity* (London, 1875), I, 18-21 and 243-45.



*ment. In this sense we may speak of a long gradation of logico-meaningful formulae from the most limited to the most general.*

But the process of arriving at the broadest logico-meaningful formulae differs fundamentally from that which applies to causal-functional associations. As has been explained, we cannot break up complicated socio-cultural accumulations into "atoms." Instead we must reverse the procedure and seek an all-embracing meaning which includes every individual element of the vast complex.<sup>11</sup>

I. From what has gone before it follows that the investigation of each type of culture integration requires its own special procedure and brings about its characteristic results. *A study of any purely spatial and mechanical congeries gives nothing but a descriptive catalogue of the parts.* Since these are not united causally, no formula of causal uniformity, no causal or functional generalization can be made for them. Where there is no causal relationship there can be no causal law. This explains why most ethnographic and anthropological works dealing with primitive peoples are a mere catalogue-like description of religious, moral, family, economic, geographic, magical, and other frag-

<sup>11</sup> Since most of the social scientists of the last few decades have believed that there exists nothing beyond causal unities and the causal method for the study of cultural phenomena, it is comprehensible why they have sought so assiduously for a single, ultimate social and cultural element; why, even in the logically integrated part of culture, they have attempted to distinguish the "simple" and the "complex," the "elementary" and the "compound" forms of relationship. The "atoms" of the mechanistic and, in part, of the organic schools of sociology; the Spencerian and Durkheimian classifications of societies into the simple and compound (with the further complication of the double and triple compound); these are the examples and products of this general line of attack. Even if the application of such a procedure to the causal layer of culture can be justified, it is a hopeless enterprise where the logico-meaningful layer is concerned. There is no "cultural atom," no "simple," no "elementary," no "complex," no "compound" form *per se*. The predominant opinion which assumes that the elementary is identical with "primitive," and the complex with "advanced" civilization is, in the main, an unsound belief. Only in a purely conditional way is it possible sometimes to use these categories. This explains why all such efforts, when applied to the higher level of culture, have yielded nothing but atrocities and platitudes. A tool well fitted for causal analysis is being employed in a field for which it is not suitable at all. See P. Sorokin, "Remarks," *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, XLIII (March, 1935); G. L. Duprat, "Introduction a l'étude des formes élémentaires de la vie social," *Archives de Sociologie*, série B. No. 1 (Juin, 1934); and the *Proceedings of the XII-me Congress de l'Institut International de Sociologie*, 1935, where this question was the main topic of discussion; cf. H. Rickert's works quoted above.

ments present in such cultures. Since the culture-complex of some of these tribes is in part a mere spatial congeries, or an accumulation based on some entirely external factor, and since the investigators have been unable to comprehend either the causal or the logico-meaningful integrating principles in the partially-known "primitive" cultures, mere description—fanciful or accurate, as the case may be—has been and has had to be the major result of their study. When dealing with purely spatial conglomerations, no other result is possible.<sup>12</sup> If an over-enthusiastic explorer attempts to insinuate a causal or logical integrating principle into such accumulations, he adds something that does not exist in, and therefore distorts, the reality studied.

*In a study of cultural synthesis the parts of which are united causally or functionally, the causal-functional method with its more or less general causal formulae provides the proper procedure.* If in a given group of cultural objects A, B, C, D, . . . N, A is united functionally with C, and B with D, the formulae that describe such causal unions, being suited to the nature of the association, would apply to other such associations of A and C, B and D, no matter where or when they occur.

So far as social scientists, especially those of the nineteenth century, have believed that all the elements of culture are causally united, they have been consistent in holding the discovery of a causal-functional uniformity of some kind between two or more socio-cultural variables to be the chief object of their study. They have, therefore, devoted the larger part of their energy to the discovery of the various formulae of causal or functional uniformity. The immense mass of theories of the existence of uniform relationships between two or more social

<sup>12</sup> It should be noted here that, since no broad culture is causally or logically integrated in its totality, historians who attempt to deal with all its aspects are unable to provide a thorough-going formula of uniformity, whether causal or otherwise. Most historical works are merely catalogues of men, events, objects, values, organized mechanically on the principles of time or space adjacency; and their inferences rarely have bearing beyond the specific area or group which they study. As providing causal or logical formulae of generalization their value is virtually nil. Fortunately, however, a number of great historians ceased to be historians and indulged in these broader inquiries resulting in important contributions to the causal and logical interpretation of culture.

variables (beginning with the most insignificant, like that between the number of windows in farmhouses and the number of bathrooms with running water, and ending with the vast generalizations of the sociologicistic, economic, racial, geographic, psychological and other schools of sociology<sup>13</sup> and social science) are the product of the causal or functional study of socio-cultural phenomena. Wherever in a socio-cultural synthesis some elements actually are causally united, and where such relationships are discovered, the attempt to apply causal formulae have been appropriate and have given valid results.<sup>14</sup>

Finally, in the study of logico-meaningful relationships the proper method is neither a mere sequential description nor a causal formula, but the appropriate unification of the fragments into a whole according to their logical significance or their logical co-existence. Such a statement will be questioned by all those who, champions of the causal-functional methods, hold to the saying *vere scire id est per causam scire* and maintain that there is no means for the scientific study of anything beyond the causal-functional analysis. To many of them the claim that there is another means sounds like bad metaphysics. Yet a slight concentration of thought is sufficient to make clear the validity of, even the logical necessity for, this claim. It is unnecessary to do more than recall what has already been established about the nature of the logico-meaningful type of unity in contra-distinction to that of the causal-functional form, or what was said of the supreme forms of cultural creation to which this, and essentially only this, highest kind of integration applies. It is sufficient simply to state its existence and to insist on its difference in significance.

<sup>13</sup> See my *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, *passim*.

<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately, many causalists did not realize that some socio-cultural conglomerations are purely spatial accumulations, and often looked for and "found" causal ties where none existed. This explains why such formulae are often unsound and why sociology overflows with quasi-causal uniformities which cannot stand the slightest test. On the other hand, the causalists have not realized that in many cultures there exist logically integrated systems which cannot be discovered and studied fruitfully by the causal method. We should not wonder then that they have either missed the specific nature of these phenomena entirely or, by trying to fit them into causal formulae, have produced something grotesquely unsound.

*The essence of the logico-meaningful method of cognition is the finding of the central principle (the "reason") which permeates all the components, gives sense and significance to each of them, and in this way makes cosmos of a chaos of unintegrated fragments.* If in a given concurrence of cultural elements such unity exists, and if the unifying principle is discovered and accurately stated, the formula is as important in its field from the cognitive standpoint as any causal formula in a case of causal coalescence. In one respect, at least, it is even more important: it is the only type of formula, and applies to the only sort of association, in which we catch a glimpse of the inward nature of phenomenal unity. The subsequent chapters of this work, of which the present paper is a part,<sup>15</sup> will be a systematic realization of these statements, so it is unnecessary to present extensive proof here. For the purposes of clarification a few examples will suffice. Suppose, of two given cultural complexes, we find one through which, among countless other elements, runs the predominant thought that the true or *ultimate reality is supersensory*, that the reality detected by our organs of perception is illusory. Suppose, further, that in the second culture the current of thought is just the opposite; that *the only reality is that of our organs of sensory perception*. We now begin a series of logical deductions which runs something like this: If each of the two cultures is logically integrated to a substantial degree, we shall find the characteristic details, listed on the next page, representing the dominant current in it. (I have intentionally enumerated variables taken from the different compartments of culture.)

We shall find these variables because each of them is connected logically with the dominant attitude towards the nature of ultimate reality. All the traits of the first culture follow logically from the principle that reality is supersensory; all the traits of the second culture follow from the belief that reality is sensory.

Knowledge of one variable in a culture enables us to construct logically a large network of connections with many of its other variables,

<sup>15</sup> This is the introductory chapter of my forthcoming volumes on *Integrated Culture; Its Types, Life-Processes and Fluctuations: A Study of Socio-Cultural Fluctuations*.

## FIRST CULTURE

1. Dominance of
  - a) Rationalism
  - b) Mysticism or Idealism
  - c) Eternalism
  - d) Indeterminism
  - e) Realism
  - f) Sociological Universalism
  - g) The Conception of Corporation or Juridical Personality as a Primary Reality
  - h) Ethics of Absolute Principles
2. Few Discoveries in the Natural Sciences and Few Inventions
3. Static Character of Social Life with a Slow Rate of Change
4. Ideational Style of Painting
5. "Scripture" as the Main Form of Literature
6. Pure or Diluted Theocracy
7. "Expiation" as the Basic Principle of Punishment and of Criminal Law

## SECOND CULTURE

1. Dominance of
  - a) Empiricism
  - b) Materialism
  - c) Temporalism
  - d) Determinism
  - e) Nominalism
  - f) Sociological Singularism
  - g) The Conception of Corporation or Juridical Personality as an Expedient Fiction
  - h) Ethics of Happiness (Hedonism, Utilitarianism, Eudemonism)
2. Many Discoveries and Inventions
3. Dynamic Character of Social Life with a Rapid Rate of Change
4. Visual Style of Painting
5. Secular Realism and Naturalism in Literature, with Sensualism and even Sexualism
6. Pure or Diluted Secular Power
7. "Adjustment," Re-education Mixed with Extermination of the "Unadjusted" and "Socially Dangerous" Persons

to forecast what will be the nature of each of these variables *if the culture is logically integrated*, and, in this way, to comprehend quickly the enormous diversity of its traits, qualities, quantities. Each of the variables becomes an orderly part of one logically-meaningful treatise, so to speak, where each page contributes to the sense of the others. In this way, the logico-meaningful method utilizes countless socio-cultural details which cannot be used by the causal method. Even the few variables listed above are so diverse, and their association, whether in positive or negative fashion, is met with so rarely that there is almost

no possibility of discovering whether they are causally united or not. Since they cannot be studied under "experimental" conditions, and since the number of cases in which these variables are associated is so small that no statistical technique can be applied to them, the causal method is not adequate for testing the nature of their unity. Furthermore, if we were unable to grasp their logical relationship by the logical method, we would be unable to imagine that all this seeming diversity could have any orderly pattern of relationship whatsoever.<sup>10</sup>

After the two sets of deductions have been made and the expected patterns formulated, there remains the second step, namely, the application of the proper set of formulae to a specific culture in order to discover whether or not it is logically integrated. If we find that this culture does contain the appropriate body of traits and variables, by one stroke we obtain several important cognitive results: (1) a highly intimate and certain understanding of many of the important aspects of the culture; (2) an insight into the nature and workings of most of its significant components; (3) a knowledge of the spectrum of its dominant mentality; (4) a comprehensive grasp of the very complex network of relationship between its traits; (5) a knowledge of whether or not, and to what extent and in what parts, the culture is logically integrated.

If it happens, in such a study, that we do not find the expected variables in the culture considered, that the combination of traits takes a direction different from what it should be logically, we still gain information of the first importance. We know: (1) that the given culture is not logically integrated; (2) that it is mainly alogical or non-logical (a diagnosis of considerable significance in view of all the fuss which followers of Pareto are making over his "discovery," as old as the history of human thought, that the beliefs and activities of man, and that social systems, are mainly non-logical or illogical); (3) possibly,

<sup>10</sup> From this, one can see that the logico-meaningful method is essentially similar to the mathematical, both being first of all logical reasoning, but with the difference that mathematical reasoning operates with quantities and number, while logico-meaningful reasoning has to deal here mainly with qualities.

to what extent and in what parts it is alogical and non-logical; and (4) that we may expect more fruitful results in our study of this culture if we abandon the logico-meaningful procedure and depend upon causal, external, and spatial formulae.<sup>17</sup>

If the fruitfulness of the logico-meaningful method depends upon the discovery of the unifying principle that permeates a large or small portion of the components of a given cultural synthesis, the questions arise: How can such a principle be discovered? What are the guarantees that it is an adequate principle, and not the mere phantasy of a "speculative" mind superimposed upon a reality in which it does not actually occur? If different investigators offer quite different principles, how can it be ascertained which of them is valid, which lacking validity, or which is more valid than the others?

The first question is almost superfluous. As in causal investigation, the principle may be suggested by observation, statistical study, meditation, imagination, logical analysis, even by dreaming and by what is called mere "chance," or "intuition." All these ways, singly or in various combinations, have been operative in the first stages of most scientific discoveries.

More important is the question: *How can it be ascertained that a given principle of logical integration is valid?* That it is not imposed artificially upon the reality but, like a law in the natural sciences, represents a formula which describes adequately and without distortion, and in process of description unifies or "explains," many separate phenomena which otherwise would remain *dissecta membra*, fragmentary and meaningless? How, in brief, can we be certain that the principle corresponds to the reality? The answer is that the criteria of validity are virtually the same as for any scientific law. First of all, the principle must by nature be logical; and second, it must stand successfully the test of the "relevant facts"; that is, it must fit and represent them.

<sup>17</sup> In my forthcoming work, the logico-meaningful method of study is applied in detail to the Greek, Graeco-Roman, and general Western cultures from approximately 600 B.C. to A.D. 1920, and, more cursorily, to the Egyptian, Hindu (Brahmanic), and Chinese (Confucian and Taoist). For the moment it must suffice to say that these cultures show logical integration to a large extent in their "higher" layers.

The first standard is self-explanatory and needs no further discussion. The second requires a few comments. In the field of socio-cultural phenomena, as in almost any other field, one can construct about the same set of phenomena not one but several theories, each of which may be logically impeccable. Which of these rivals is the best is decided by the testimony of the relevant facts. As soon as we try with this evidence to check the validity of all the principles set up, almost immediately some will show themselves to be unsound. Others will be generally relevant. But the more deeply and more carefully we probe them, the further will proceed the progressive separation of the more from the less adequate.

Suppose the application of a theory to a given culture results in our finding that the combination of its components runs contrary in nature to the implications of the principle. In that case there are two possibilities open to us: either to conclude that the culture is not integrated logically, with all the consequences that follow from this; or to suspend judgment and, asking whether perhaps the principle itself is wrongly chosen, try to find another principle which may better fit the facts. If we consider the enormous difficulty of finding the right principle—a difficulty which seems the greater by comparison with the same problem in the field of causal relationships<sup>18</sup>—the second course will appear the more reasonable. Before declaring a given culture non-logical or allogical, one has to experiment with as many principles as will at all fit any of the relevant facts.<sup>19</sup> At this stage we have a number of theories, all of them varying more or less from each other. We must proceed with a progressive elimination of those among them which fit the fewest facts. We may have, for example, a principle *A*, which fits the sets of

<sup>18</sup> For this, see especially A. A. Tschuproff's work where he shows, with great clarity, how difficult it is to discover the real nature of a causal connection, and how great is the danger of taking for a causal factor a variable which is almost always present, but, which, nevertheless, has no causal relationship with the "function," or "effect," under investigation. The history of the natural sciences, not to mention the social sciences, is full of cases of such "mistaken identity."

<sup>19</sup> As a matter of fact, if no cultures are completely integrated logically, hardly any are absolutely allogical or non-logical. Therefore, with the proper efforts, a principle can be found that unifies at least a part of the components of any culture.



phenomena *a, b, c*, but does not fit *d, e, f*, and is contradicted by *m*. We may have also a second principle *B*, which fits *a, b, c, d, e*, does not fit *f*, and is contradicted by *n*. A third principle *C*, which we likewise formulate, may, on the other hand, fit all these sets of phenomena from *a* to *f* and be contradicted neither by *m* nor by *n*, nor by any other set, and besides fit the additional groups *g, j, s, p, x, y*. Evidently, the last of these theories, if logically as impeccable as the others, is the most valid.

Here the comparative value of the principles is decided by the same criteria as in the natural sciences. *Of several rival theories, that theory is best which describes the field of the phenomena in question most accurately, and embraces in its description the largest number of phenomena.* For these reasons, the Copernican system is better than the Ptolemaic, Newton's laws superior to Kepler's. Similarly, in the realm of socio-cultural phenomena, where several different principles of integration may be formulated, some may be more correct and more broadly applicable than others. Some, for example, may fit only a limited set of phenomena, while others will apply to several sets. Only one will stand forth as giving the most satisfactory meaning to the larger part of the elements. This is the theory we must choose.

Thus we may have a graduation of various theories from the standpoint of their cognitive value. The theory which would fit all the facts would be perfect. But such a theory could hardly be formulated in fact, because it presupposes complete information about realms of which our knowledge can, at best, be only a more or less accurate approximation.

In explaining the process of "fitting the facts" we may draw again on the analogy of the jig-saw puzzle. In attempting to solve the puzzle one may make several guesses, each of which is logically irreproachable, as to what the figure is going to be. When, however, one begins to test the guesses by the facts, i.e., under the guidance of each guess in turn begins to put the fragments into order, one soon sees that they do not fit according to the principle. Step by step guesses are eliminated until the correct one appears and turns a confused heap of fragments into a

comprehensive unity. The same procedure is used in testing each integrative principle by the facts which it attempts to unite. From this the most exacting thinker in the natural sciences can see that the nature of logical integration is in no way more "metaphysical" or "loose" than the most rigorously controlled causal generalization in his field.

These remarks clarify sufficiently the nature of the logico-meaningful form of integration, the situation in which it is relevant, and the methods of its application.

It is hardly necessary to add that the method is now new: it has been used, and used effectively, by great social thinkers from the remote past. Only in the second part of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century, when the social sciences began thoughtlessly to imitate the natural sciences, and the natural sciences became particularly "causal" (at least in their aspirations), was the method neglected and even branded by the less discerning among the causalists as "metaphysical," "subjective," and the like. Plato's and Aristotle's method of analyzing the fundamental forms of political and social regimes and the mentality and psycho-social variables of each is, first of all, logico-meaningful. The same is true of such other great social thinkers as St. Thomas Aquinas, Albertus Magnus, Ibn-Khaldun, J. B. Vico, Montesquieu, Machiavelli (in the *Discourses*), and, in modern times, the very high priests of scientific positivism and causalism, Spencer and August Comte. Most of their important contributions (often even contrary to their express declarations) have been the result, not of a causal study, but of the conscious or unconscious use of the logico-meaningful method. Even such supposed empiricists, causalists, and functionalists as Durkheim (particularly in his *Division du travail social*, and in his *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*) and Pareto (whose works, with a lag of some 25 years, finally have reached America at the moment when their significance is definitely on the decline) use, contrary to their intention, not a causal method but first and foremost an imperfect form of the logico-meaningful method.<sup>20</sup> The same can be said of other

<sup>20</sup> Especially curious is Pareto's case. In spite of his indefatigable insistence on the logico-experimental as the only method in sociology, he uses a method neither very logical

social scientists. Whenever the theoreticians in the various fields of the social sciences have discussed the branches with which they are concerned (whether their discussion involves consideration of monarchical and republican forms of government; totemic and national society; natural, money, or credit economy; theological, metaphysical, or positive types of social mentality; mechanistic and organic solidarity as the bases of society; *Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft*; opposition of Capitalist and Communist; the culture of East and West; Greek and "Faustian" forms of culture; caste, feudal, city-state, or modern national and international society; or extrovert and introvert types of personality); they have in fact attempted to apply, whether well or ill, what is styled here the principle of logico-meaningful integration. This is generally true of nearly every case in which the procedure is based on the establishment of a type, norm, or ideal.<sup>21</sup>

In view of this, it is peculiar that the cultural anthropologists, who recently have rather monopolized the study of culture, generally have failed to formulate clearly the principles of logical integration. They have been using it unconsciously (as when they talk of the totemic and other types of primitive society). Their deliberate efforts have been concentrated mainly upon the purely spatial and external forms of integration (for example, a study of the cultural traits from the point of view of their area of occurrence and the frequency of their distribution), supplemented occasionally by the functional. Only rarely has the logical method been tried deliberately, and even then with very little skill.

Two recent examples will serve to illustrate this unskillful use. The

nor especially experimental nor particularly causal or functional. All his main concepts and theories (equilibrium, residue, derivation, his classification of residues, the *rentieri* and *speculatori* types, and so on) are in all their aspects logico-meaningful through and through; but the method is applied by him in its poorest form, a weakness which results from his empirical and positivistic obsession to create a scientific sociology by a mere aping of the methods, concepts, and framework of reference used in the physico-chemical sciences.

<sup>21</sup> For a criticism of these studies, see my *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, pp. 719-724.

first is offered by Professor Sapir, the second by Dr. Benedict. Sapir tries to distinguish "genuine" from the "spurious."

The genuine culture (he writes) is not of necessity high or low; it is merely inherently harmonious, balanced, self-satisfactory. . . . It is . . . a culture in which nothing is spiritually meaningless, in which no important part of the general functioning brings with it a sense of frustration, of misdirected or unsympathetic effort. It is not a spiritual hybrid of contradictory patches.<sup>22</sup>

In brief, it is culture in which the parts are meaningfully unified. The "spurious" culture, on the contrary, is that which does not have this organic synthesis. From the characterization of the genuine culture one can easily see that by it Professor Sapir means neither a spatial nor an external accumulation, not even a functionally united congeries, but something similar to what I call logically integrated culture. Unfortunately, in his detailed characterization Sapir's concept of the logically integrated culture is marred by its partial identification with the idealized culture of the type which he finds most attractive.<sup>23</sup> We may disregard this defect and give credit to the author for groping for something which is of the first importance, even though he has not as yet seen it clearly. Let us, however, ask the question: What is the specific logical principle which Sapir applies to cultures in order to find out whether they are genuine or not? Then we at once see the limits of his method. He does not have any really significant and systematically applied key-principles. All his attempts to find such keys are virtual failures. We read that the supposed key of the French culture is "clarity, lucid systematization, balance, care in choice of means, and a good taste."<sup>24</sup> The key to the Russian culture is

the tendency of the Russian to see and think of human beings not as representatives of types, not as creatures that appear eternally clothed in the garments of

<sup>22</sup> E. Sapir, "Culture, Genuine and Spurious," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXIX, 410.

<sup>23</sup> This mixture of logical integration with the idealization of the culture which meets one's taste, is clear even from the brief passage quoted, with its partisan adjectives and phrases, "harmonious," "unsympathetic effort"; and this is true of the entire study. Sapir's "genuine" culture is the culture which he likes, and all the cultures which he dislikes are "spurious."

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 407.

civilization, but as stark human beings existing primarily in and for themselves, only secondarily for the sake of civilization.<sup>25</sup>

All this perhaps sounds "romantic," but it is also unclear, ununited, and factually wrong. First of all, in the French case not one but several keys fit the same door: clarity is not the same thing as balance or systematization or good taste or care in choice of means. Such an array of traits is nothing but a hodgepodge. Second, the integration is superficial and journalistic; it does not give the slightest idea of the content of French culture, its meaning, its real physiognomy. The physiognomy of a dog, a bird, a fish, a man will be "lucid" and "clear"; nevertheless they are very different from one another. Sapir's characterization is what one may expect to hear from the summer tourist. Even if the traits are accurate they integrate, at the best, the mere formal surface of the phenomena of the French culture. They do not give any "key" to its science and philosophy, religion and ethics, art and law, economics and politics.

In the case of Russia only one, but that the most "significant" principle, is indicated: the principle of the "stark human beings," of the famous and mysterious "*âme Slave*," as all the janitresses in Paris call it. Evidence? Practically none, except indefinite references to Tolstoi, Dostoevsky, Gorki, Chekhov, Turgenev, with a little Moussorgski and Tchaikovski.

Surely this is not a broad enough basis for generalization on the whole of Russian culture. If the author had asked himself how this Russian was able to create one of the vastest of empires, occupying about one-sixth of the planet, probably he would never have set down the key-principle which he offers as the open sesame of the entire civilization. Moreover, Sapir's key really does not tell us anything about the character of Russian science, philosophy, religion, art or literature, or of its forms of social, political, economic, and other organization. The same is true of his key to the culture of the "typical American

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 407-408.

Indian tribe," his great knowledge of which should have given his words special authority.<sup>26</sup>

To sum up: Professor Sapir is on the right track in his search for what I style the logical form of culture integration, but he fails, partly because he has no clear idea of the true nature of logical integration, nor of how to find a logico-meaningful key-principle and apply it to, and test it by, the relevant facts.

With slight modification, the same can be said of Dr. Benedict's effort. She also tries to integrate the cultures which she studies in a way which approaches logical integration. But when she seeks to unify in this fashion a number of "preliterate" cultures (the Zuni, the Dobu, and that of the tribes of the Northwest Coast of America), she also fails. For instance, we are shown that among the Zuni there exists: a distrust of individualism, sobriety and inoffensiveness, ritualism, imitative magic, a highly developed priesthood together with theocracy, the blood-relationship group, property taboo, and certain specified forms of family relationship, marriage, household economy, and so on.<sup>27</sup> Granted that the description is accurate, it is not sufficiently discriminating to enable us to decide whether in these combinations we have logical or functional unity, or purely spatial adjacency, or accumulation

<sup>26</sup> Sapir's subsequent discussion of civilization and culture, art, and so on, is rather naïve. Here we find the usual error committed by modern anthropologists when they discuss "complex" civilizations. Accustomed to deal with the "recordless" primitive societies and cultures, they, consciously or unconsciously, apply the "timeless" typology—which is wrong even in application to the primitive societies—to the cultures whose history and profound changes are known to us. To talk of them, regardless of time and period, as of something which remains the same throughout the centuries is unsound. But this is what is done almost all the time by the anthropologists who indulge in such characterizations of the "historical" cultures. For instance we read in Wissler's *Man and Culture*, pp. 233 ff.; "Oriental art is highly conventionalized and does not strive to be realistic, while Occidental work approaches exactness in reproduction." If the author had taken Occidental art, say before the fifteenth century, he would have seen that it was highly conventionalized, as much as any Oriental art at any period. And, *vice versa*, the art of some of the Oriental countries at some periods was as realistic as the Occidental art of the last four centuries. What Wissler says about Occidental and Oriental music, the "flowing bowl," and so on, is still more fallacious. The main source of the error is, besides incomplete knowledge of these subjects, the application of the timeless categories to the historical and changing cultures for which we have records that show the change. In a lesser degree, the same mistake is made by Sapir and others when they talk of modern cultures.

<sup>27</sup> See R. Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York, 1934), chap. iv.

affected by an external factor.<sup>28</sup> Even her invocation of the Nietzschean "key" of the Dionysian and Apollonian types of culture (this actually refers to music in Nietzsche) does not help much. What she really gives us is not a key to the cultures studied, but an empirical description of them. Traits and complexes are put side by side, but their logical or causal relationship to one another remains unilluminated by the juxtaposition. The application of Nietzsche's categories does not improve the situation, rather makes it worse, because the meaning given to the terms Apollonian and Dionysian is somewhat different from that which Nietzsche gave to them; because the categories are not naturally applicable to the situation, but represent an artificial imposition upon

<sup>28</sup> The same is true of the other two tribes described in the work. The author, as we shall see, tries to show that these cultures are functionally integrated; but the procedure of the integration which she follows is not so much functional as logical. The same is to be said of Wissler's treatment of the main traits of the modern American culture, mentioned before.

A similar failure to distinguish the spatial, external, functional, and the logico-meaningful forms of culture-integration, plus a lack of clear understanding of the necessity, is quite noticeable especially in the methodological formulations of functionalism by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown. Putting aside his unenlightening organismic analogies, we turn to his definition of functional relationships: "Function is the contribution which a partial activity makes to the total activity of which it is a part. The function of a particular social usage is the contribution it makes to the total social system. . . . Such a view implies that a social system (the total structure and the totality of usages in which this structure appears and on which it depends for its continued existence) has a certain kind of unity, which we may speak of as a functional unity. . . . We may define it as a condition in which *all parts* of the social system work together with a sufficient degree of harmony or internal consistency, i.e., without producing persistent conflicts which can neither be resolved nor regulated. . . ." Here, as well as in other similar statements of his, there is present a mixture of all the main forms of integration, of the spatial, functional, and logico-meaningful connections. If by functional he means the causal-functional connections of the parts of a given cultural conglomeration, then it is hard to talk of such connections in terms of harmony and disharmony, of inner consistency and inconsistency, because causal relationships are neither harmonious and disharmonious, neither consistent nor inconsistent. They are simply either causal or not. The relationship between the volume of gas and the pressure is neither harmonious nor disharmonious, consistent nor inconsistent; it is simply causal. The terms harmonious and the like are suitable as indications of the existence of a logico-meaningful relationship between the parts. But the author nowhere formulates such relationships, and talks of functionalism in the sense of causal functionalism. On the other hand, taking his definition of functionalism, one cannot separate a mere spatial congeries from causal-functional unity. Any part of any spatial congeries contributes something to the whole of which it is a part. This, however, does not mean that it is functionally connected with the rest of the congeries. The distinguished author seems to admit the existence of such accumulations saying that "not everything in the life of community has a function" (an awkward expression!), but he nowhere attempts to

cultures which have little to do with them; and finally, because some of the cultures with which Dr. Benedict deals have a very small degree of logical integration.<sup>20</sup>

From these examples we perceive that some modern anthropologists have at last begun to search for logico-meaningful principles with which to explain certain cultures. Up to now their efforts have yielded few results, and from not unfathomable reasons. As we shall see, even in the comparatively highly integrated cultures logical synthesis takes place only among part of their elements. Therefore, so far as the primitive cultures are concerned, we must expect even a lesser degree of logical integration. At best only a relatively small part of their traits would show such coalescence; yet, in order to understand even this portion of the culture, we must discover a key which is neither haphazard nor based upon journalistic observations. Here, as anywhere in science, keys are not found by everybody, nor even by every serious specialist, without concentrated and systematic thought, meticulous labor, and . . . luck. These examples, likewise, offer confirmation of the writer's claim that the validity of the integrating principle can be tested as severely as that of any causal principle in the natural sciences:

give any inkling as to how we are to distinguish a congeries from a causal-functional unity. In brief, in his words "function" and "functionalism" he includes a great many different things, from the biological meaning of the terms in the connotation function-organ, to the fusion of spatial, external, functional-causal, and logico-meaningful forms of relationship. In such a setting he is likely to take as functional the connection discussed above of the elements A, B, C, D, . . . N found empirically in association in a given locality, for he does not have any means to separate the really functional from the accidental. In this respect, the criticism of functionalism in anthropology by A. Lesser—that functionalists are open to the error of confusing these connections, having virtually no ground on which to test which of the integrations are functional and which mere co-existences—is also valid.

What I have said here is not aimed at the very valuable contributions of Radcliffe-Brown and others in their actual field studies. All that is intended is to show that, in this basic problem, a great deal of confusion exists; that it exists even in the best works; and that some of the best investigators seem to sense the existence of what I style the logico-meaningful unities, but have hardly thought the problem through clearly.

See A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "On the Concept of Functional Social Sciences," *American Anthropologist*, XXXVII (1935), 394-402; A. Lesser, "Functionalism in Social Anthropology," *ibid.*, pp. 386-394; and A. L. Kroeber, "History and Science in Anthropology," *ibid.*, pp. 539-570.

<sup>20</sup> See R. Benedict, *op. cit.*, *passim*.



Those keys that are invalid either fail to work or break easily under a test; those that survive the test merit the name "scientific" until their shortcomings are demonstrated.

From the above it follows that in the study of cultures, we should look for both forms of true integration: logico-meaningful and causal. When discovered, they give a better knowledge of the culture than if only logical or only causal integrations are found. Using these two powerful beams together, we illuminate more widely and completely the chaotic darkness of the fragmentary socio-cultural world of perception, and may then proceed to arrange them into systems which permit us to grasp the nature of the components which, beyond mere spatial and external accumulations, possess true unity.

Each of these methods, however, must be applied separately and in its proper field. But this does not preclude a further study of the relationship between the logically integrated and the functionally united layers of culture<sup>30</sup> with a view to throwing up a bridge between them. Thus, proceeding along these orderly lines, we get at least a part of the culture soundly integrated and, therefore, properly comprehended. But if we mix indiscriminately the different forms of culture integration and the different methods which apply to each; we are likely to be lost in chaos and our results will be confused, unbalanced, unsound.

## 5. SOME RESULTS OF THE PRECEDING ANALYSIS

If there are at least four different types of cultural integration, spatial, external, functional, and logical, each with the properties described, then one may draw a definite series of conclusions.

*a.* All cultural conglomerations can be ranged, theoretically, upon a scale, beginning with those which are a mere spatial congeries, that is, are unintegrated in the proper sense of the word, and ending with those which are completely integrated logically. We virtually never

<sup>30</sup> As my projected study will show, with full facts, the relationship between the two layers is peculiar in many respects, and its peculiarity throws an interesting light upon many compartments of culture, as well as upon the nature and direction of socio-cultural change.

meet with a perfect case of either an absolutely unintegrated or a completely integrated cultural complex. All the combinations which are now known occupy, however, different places upon the scale, some being nearer to the lowest, others to the highest, still others to the intermediate forms of integration.

*b.* If spatial adjacency and, in part, external unification are present in nearly every cultural complex, the same cannot be said of the functional and logical forms of synthesis. It is probable that at least some of the elements are bound either functionally or logically, but what they are and how great a part of the whole they compose depends upon the culture and the period and must be found by special study.

*c.* If propositions *a* and *b* are valid, the following theories widely accepted are fallacious:

(1) That every culture is an integrated unity (unless, of course, by integration is meant a mere spatial congeries, a meaning which in its turn not only destroys the significance of the term, but also leads to other errors and illogicalities).

(2) That any change in any component of a given cultural configuration, functionally or logically, affects all the other components and, therefore, the whole of the given culture. This would be so if any cultural conglomeration were either a functional or a logical unity throughout. But since every combination has among its elements some united only in a spatial congeries or by external association, then removing old or adding new elements may not tangibly influence the rest of the accumulation in any functional or logical way. Contrary to the prevalent opinion, this sort of change has actually been occurring on a relatively large scale and with comparative frequency.

*d.* The nature of the change of a spatial congeries differs from that of functionally or logically unified systems. In the congeries the change means mainly a mechanical addition or subtraction of elements, or their rearrangement, chiefly through external forces. In the unified cultural systems, the change means a transformation of the system as a whole or in its greater part; this transformation involves, not merely a quanti-

tative addition or subtraction or a mechanical rearrangement of some elements, but an inner or organic change. This change may be produced in part, perhaps, by external forces, but primarily (as will be shown in the future chapters of the present work) is generated by forces within the system itself. The change in the spatial congeries is almost always accidental. It does not have any inner logic, and is the result of the interplay of various external factors. A wind can carry away some leaves from a dead pile or add some to it; a stone thrown into the pile may press some of the leaves more firmly to the ground; a dog playing in the leaves can rearrange their places, as well as the general form of the pile. Such a congeries is passive; it does not have either an inner tendency to, or an inner selection of, change in a specific direction. Except for its purely mechanical inertia, it is the plaything of external conditions.

Somewhat similar is the situation in a cultural congeries. A force external to the heap may dump into it some additional elements or carry away some of the objects which were there; it may change their mechanical order; the congeries remains passive through all these changes, does not have initiative, preferences, attraction and repulsion, selection and resistance.

While it is useless to look for an inner logic of change in the accidental congeries, it is absolutely necessary to do so in the genuine cultural unity. There is little reason to mention evolution of the spatial congeries; but we can apply this term to the functional and logical systems. The congeries is changed by mere chance; systems change according to the course of life which is predetermined for them by their very nature. They are "the equilibrium-systems," as the lovers of mechanistic terms like to say.

*e.* The logically and functionally integrated systems are real systems possessing several fundamental traits, and giving rise to a number of important considerations which are usually neglected:

(1) Any functional or logical system, as a unity, has a certain degree of autonomy and inherent self-regulation in its functioning and change

("equilibrium" of the mechanistic systems). Any system, whether it be a mechanism (like an automobile), an organism (like even the *Paremecium*), or a cultural system, has a certain degree of independence of, or immunity to, external conditions. In some cases this freedom may be large, in others narrow; but it is possessed to some extent by every system which pretends to integration. Thus, an automobile is immune to a considerable degree to the defects in the road, to change in temperature, and to many other circumstances; and the better the car, the larger is its margin of immunity. A biological organism is also immune to a rather large number of external elements. Similarly, the functional and, especially, the logical cultural systems have such an immunity to external circumstances: to weather, climate, seasonal change, various biological processes (including even such calamities as a poor harvest or an earthquake or an epidemic), and to external social conditions, such as the pressure of other societies and cultures. Even when these circumstances reach the scale of catastrophe (war, famine, plague), the systems, like a biological organism, may temporarily be shocked and fall ill, but often they recover in due time and resume their proper forms and functions.

(2) The autonomy of any system also means the existence of some margin of choice, or selection, on its part with regard to the infinitely great number of varying external agents and objects which may influence it. It will ingest some of these and not others. It has an affinity for some and a repulsion for others.

(3) Furthermore, autonomy means that the functions, change, and destiny of the system are determined not only and not so much by the external circumstances (except in the case of catastrophic accidents), but by the nature of the system itself, and by the relationship between its parts. An aeroplane can fly, a cow cannot; a gun can fire, a spade cannot. Whatever be the external circumstances, man cannot help passing from childhood to senility, and, sooner or later, dying. Likewise, a cultural system has its own logic of functioning, change, and destiny which is a result of not only, and regularly not so much, of the external conditions, but of its own nature. This does not deny the

influence of the external circumstances; neither does it deny the possibility of occurrence of the most decisive, catastrophic accidents caused by an external force; but it stresses what seems to have been forgotten for the last few decades, namely, that one of the most important "determinants" of the functioning and course of any system lies within the system itself, is inherent in it. In this sense, any inwardly integrated system is an autonomous self-regulating, self-directing unity. Its life-course is set down in its essentials when the system is born. This is one of the specific aspects of the larger principle which may be called "immanent self-regulation and self-direction."

(4) If this is true, then it is wrong to "explain" any true system as the mere plaything of external conditions, and reduce the explanation of the change in the system to this or that external factor.<sup>31</sup> Such an explanation, if it neglects the nature of the autonomy of the system, can only land the one who explains in a swamp of logical and factual error.

<sup>31</sup> This "external" standpoint has gone so far that, as a humorist has said, nowadays historians begin the history of any people and country with the indication that the people did not live where they live now but come from some other place, and the people who began the history of a given place was not the people who lived there before the beginning of its history. Similarly, if we must explain a change in the family, we take as a factor either an economic or religious or demographic or any other condition *external* to the family and in this way explain its change. The same procedure is often used with regard to other social systems in explanation of their change or workings. As we shall see, such a disposition to "externality" is not accidental, but represents one of the traits of the contemporary integrated culture.

# Current Bulletins

*Charles P. Loomis*

This quarter the bulletins dealing with topics related to rural sociology cover a wide variety of interests. Among the investigations are analyses in the fields of population mobility, rural-urban differences, standards of living, and the activities of rural youth.

Because of the dearth of material concerning the recent ruralward migration, an Indiana study<sup>1</sup> of the back-to-the-land movement is particularly timely. Of 608 families, in 19 southern Indiana townships, which had moved back to the land, 374 were interviewed. By the use of census and other data, the townships were classified as "better" and "poorer."

Of the people returning to the land, 60 per cent in the better and 71 per cent in the poorer townships were unemployed people from the cities. Between January 1, 1930, and June 1, 1934, the landward movement was far greater to the poorer than to the better townships.

Four-fifths of the incoming families had farm experience, and slightly less than two-thirds considered their new residence permanent. Forty per cent intended to return to their former occupations at their first opportunity. In the better townships the new families had much higher gross incomes, owned more livestock, operated more total and cultivated acres, raised more farm products for the home consumption and market delivery, received less public relief, and were to a lesser extent in arrears in the payment of taxes than were the newcomers in the poorer townships. Although the influence of selection is considered, the authors maintain that the failure of the newcomers in the poorer townships to measure up to those in the better townships is chiefly due to the absence of good farming land.

From Utah comes a study<sup>2</sup> which compares the sizes of rural and urban children, adding another monograph to a long series of investigations into the physical differences between rural and urban residents. The analysis was based upon measurements of 12,913 rural and 13,871 urban children between the

<sup>1</sup> H. E. Moore and O. G. Lloyd, "The Back-to-the-Land Movement in Southern Indiana," *Bulletin No. 409*, Purdue University Agricultural Experiment Station, Lafayette, 1936. Pp. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Almeda P. Brown, "Comparative Size of Rural and Urban Utah School Children as Determined by the Weight-Height-Age Relationships," *Bulletin No. 266*, Utah Agricultural Experiment Station, Logan, 1936. Pp. 22.

ages of six and 15 years. With some exceptions the urban children of both sexes were both heavier and taller than the rural children of the same age, after the age of six had been attained. The author suggests that "causes of smaller size in rural children are environmental rather than genetic (*a*) because differences are slight in earlier years becoming greater with age, (*b*) the same racial stocks are represented in both rural and urban populations in Utah and in practically the same proportions."

Even if it be granted that the racial stock in the rural and urban populations in Utah are the same, more study should be made of selective factors that may be playing important rôles. It is generally recognized that rural-urban migrants go to all urban classes. Also, it has been established that in many societies the so-called "upper classes" are relatively heavier and taller than the lower classes of the same race.

An Illinois bulletin<sup>3</sup> is a more extensive type of study than the title might indicate. Under the heading "General Economic and Social Situation," census data for 420 farms and data from personal interviews of 250 families in four townships are presented to show size and value of farm and tenure, nationality, and educational status of the families. Facts concerning population density, nativity, age, and migration are presented and the time-budgets of the families are analyzed. It was found that 90 per cent of the time of the average farm operator was spent on the farm. Persons of a productive age spent approximately one-fourth of their time in rest and recreation, more than one-third at farm work, and more than one-third in sleep. Trade conditions, habits, and practices are analyzed. Formal schooling, landownership, and length of residence in the community were found to be positively correlated with participation in community activities. Reasons for membership in voluntary organizations and attitudes toward business and educational organizations are presented in categorical form. Community activities and leadership qualities are analyzed.

A recent standard-of-living study made in Wisconsin<sup>4</sup> is an analysis of 290 rural families, approximately one-fourth of the families in the Forest County portion of the Crandon, Wisconsin, Federal Land Purchase Area. It is important as the first special family-living study made in an area which is to be evacuated for reforestation. Families included were (1) those whose land had been appraised or optioned for purchase by the Land Policy Section of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration; (2) those who had applied to the Wisconsin Rehabilitation Corporation; (3) those dwelling in three typically stranded villages in the "Cut-Over."

<sup>3</sup> D. E. Lindstrom, "Forces Affecting Participation of Farm People in Rural Organization. A Study Made in Four Townships in Illinois," *Bulletin No. 423*, University of Illinois Agricultural Experiment Station, Urbana, 1936. Pp. 127.

<sup>4</sup> E. L. Kirkpatrick, "Needed Standards of Living for Rural Resettlement," *Mimeo-graphed Bulletin*, Resettlement Administration, Wisconsin Rehabilitation Division, Madison, 1936. Pp. 62.

The factors relevant to the level of living include budgetary items for which cash expenditures were made and which were furnished from the farm, indexes of participation in selected home and community activities (including reading hours and radio auditing per person per year), and attendance at church, Sunday School, moving picture theaters, and organization meetings.

Among the findings and conclusions are the following: (1) The proportion of the value of living furnished from the farm is relatively less in the higher income groups. (2) Over half of the total living budget (when the items produced on the farm are included as evaluated) was expended for food. On the average there is only approximately \$350 left for other expenditures. It is stated that a typical farm family of five should have \$500 for furnished and purchased goods in addition to food. (3) The majority of the families had deficits which were left unpaid or met by rehabilitation loans or other borrowings. (4) Eighty per cent of the 290 families received public aid at some time during the year. (5) Non-relief families had noticeably higher participation indices, in selected home and community activities, than relief families. The larger the proportion of the income procured from relief, the less the home and community participation in activities. (6) Distribution of total expenditures among the principal items indicates a significantly higher level of living among families on the larger farms. (7) It is important "that size of operating unit and possibility for supplementing the farm income from outside sources be given first attention in rehabilitation programs for situations where conditions are similar to those of this survey." (8) Two in every five of the families considered "are capable of remaining or becoming again self-supporting although a part of them will need temporary assistance to do so. Ten to 12 per cent are incapable of self-support. The remainder may be placed on a self-sustaining basis if provided sufficient aid and supervision and supplementary employment opportunities."

The preliminary report<sup>5</sup> of the Rural Research Unit of the Works Progress Administration on Part-time Farming in Charleston County, South Carolina, has been abstracted for the publication *Farm Population and Rural Life Activities* of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, U. S. Department of Agriculture. This report is based on a survey of 71 white families and 35 Negro families who worked in urban industries and had been established for at least two years as part-time farmers. Ninety-four Negro farm laborers with part-time farms were also included. Distances between available farm land and industrial employment and lack of transportation apparently deterred greater numbers of industrial workers from undertaking part-time farming. Non-commercial, white, part-time farmers, who were engaged in urban industry, had about the same

<sup>5</sup> W. W. Troxell, L. S. Cottrell, Jr., A. D. Edwards, and R. H. Allen, "Combined Farming-Industrial Employment in Charleston County, South Carolina," *Research Bulletin J-3* (Preliminary Report), Resettlement Administration, Washington, D.C., June, 1936.



family cash incomes during 1934 as non-farming, white, urban industrial workers, and the home-consumed products of the farm constituted a net addition to the family income, but the living conditions of these part-time farmers were inferior to those of the non-farming, white, urban industrial workers, reflecting urban-rural differences in housing and modern conveniences.

Among Negro urban industrial workers the part-time farmers had less employment than those who did not engage in farming, probably indicating to Negro part-time farmers the disadvantage of living at a distance from industrial employment. Negro part-time farmers also had poorer school facilities than city dwellers.

Workers who were engaged in part-time farming produced relatively little food. A few varieties of vegetables were grown during the summer months. Little canning was done, as fresh vegetables could be bought cheaply in the local markets during most of the year. Only a few Negroes and about half the whites produced dairy products, although the money expended by several farmers on unnecessary mules might have been used for cows instead.<sup>6</sup>

A recent study of the activities, interests and problems of rural young people in Tompkins County, New York,<sup>7</sup> was based upon direct personal interviews of 347 young people who had, on the average, completed more than two years of high school. Of these, the men averaged 28 years in age and the women 24. Data are classified according to whether the persons resided in villages, in the open country, and on or off farms. Leisure-time and occupational activities, preferences, and interests are studied in considerable detail. It was found that 82 per cent of the young men and 67 per cent of the young women had received no organized training for any vocation. In answer to questions concerning activities, most of the persons, had they ways and means, preferred to travel and to own homes and farms.

During the last quarter there have also appeared a considerable number of mimeographed bulletins and circulars dealing with a variety of topics which interest the rural sociologist. Among them are the following:

H. M. Pevehouse, "Conditions in the Southwestern Wheat Area Which Affect the Rehabilitation Program. (as typified by Perkins County, Nebraska)," *Research Bulletin K-4*, Resettlement Administration, May, 1936. Pp. 39.

<sup>6</sup> This is the third report of part-time farming in the South. The other reports were "Combined Farming-Industrial Employment in the Cotton-Textile Subregion of Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina," *Bulletin J-1*, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D.C., 1936; and "Employment in the Cotton-Textile Industry in Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina," *Bulletin J-2*, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D.C., 1936. These bulletins are available for limited distribution only.

<sup>7</sup> W. A. Anderson, "Rural Youth: Activities, Interests and Problems. I. Married Young Men and Women, 14 to 29 years of Age," *Bulletin No. 649*, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, 1936. Pp. 53.

- H. L. Stewart, "Natural and Economic Factors Affecting Rural Rehabilitation Problems in Southwestern North Dakota (as typified by Hettinger County)," *Research Bulletin K-4*, Resettlement Administration, May, 1936. Pp. 39.
- E. D. Tetreau, "The Trend of Rural Relief in Arizona, June 30, 1935, through December 31, 1935," Social Research Division of the Works Progress Administration, Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Arizona, Arizona Emergency Relief Administration, and Arizona State Board of Public Welfare, coöperating, April, 1936. Pp. 22.
- Olaf F. Larson, "With Rural Relief in Colorado, February-November, 1935," *Research Bulletin No. 1*, Colorado Agricultural Experiment Station and Rural Research Section, Research Division, Federal Works Progress Administration, Fort Collins, April, 1936. Pp. 28.
- "Statistical Data Regarding Farm Labor in Oregon," *Station Circular of Information No. 151*, Oregon Agricultural Experiment Station, in coöperation with Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Corvallis, May, 1936. Pp. 9.
- E. L. Kirkpatrick and Agnes M. Boynton, "Interests and Needs of the Rural Youth in Wood County, Wisconsin," *Special Circular*, Wisconsin Agricultural College Extension Service, Madison, January, 1936. Pp. 12.
- A. F. Wileden, "What Douglas County Young People Want and What They Are Doing About It," *Special Circular*, Wisconsin Agricultural College Extension Service, Madison, December, 1935. Pp. 12.
- "Recreation in South Dakota" (A Preliminary Report), South Dakota State Planning Board, Brookings, 1936. Pp. 184. (A listing and description of recreational facilities available in each county and in most municipalities of the state.)
- "The People of South Dakota" (A Preliminary Study of Population), South Dakota State Planning Board, Brookings, June, 1936. Tables VIII. Pp. 44.
- "Organization and Procedures of the Alabama Department of Public Welfare," *Bulletin L-1*, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D.C., July, 1936. Pp. 70.
- "Organization and Procedures of the Maryland Board of State Aid and Charities," *Bulletin L-2*, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D.C., 1936. Pp. 44.

## Book Reviews

*The Populist Revolt.* By John D. Hicks. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1931 (reissued 1936). Pp. xii, 473. \$4.00.

This excellent work by a professor of American history and dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Nebraska is a history of agrarianism in the United States between the Civil War and the end of the century. It deals chiefly with the activities, the background, and results of the farm movements known as the Farmers' Alliance and the People's Party. From the philosophical-historical and sociological points of view it is an introduction to modern farm relief in that it deals with the conditions, complaints, and activities of the American commercial farmers in a period almost similar, from the economic point of view, to that engaging these same American farmers since the World War. Its various chapters take up the frontier; the conditions in the South after the Civil War; the grievances which the farmers claimed on account of the rising value of the currency, the low prices for agricultural products, and the heavy mortgage indebtedness of the farmers; the development of the Farmers' Alliance and its activities, until it fused with other dissident elements including the free-silverites; the proposed subtreasury plan for farm relief which was, in many aspects, almost as happy a scheme as some more recently put into effect in the same regions; the birth, growth, and activities of the Populist Party; its fusion with the radical democrats into the free-silver party of the Nineties; the defeat of free-silver democracy in 1896; and the return of "prosperity" leading to the temporary dissolution of agrarianism of this nature.

Naturally a reviewer can say a number of things about a lengthy book as important as this, but a few seem of particular importance. The first concerns the historical accuracy of the work. The reviewer is not an historian but has had a considerable interest in this period and its writings. In his opinion the interpretation fits the ideas which he has formed of the period from other sources. He would disagree with the author on a number of interpretations, such as the wearing out of the lands of the West (p. vii), some of the analyses of southern agriculture (chap. ii), and the summary of the Populist contribution (chap. xv); on the other hand, he would commend the author particularly for pointing out that the "gifts" of the public domain to the railroads was essentially a method of distributing the land to farmers more quickly and at a low price through the railroads (but the author does not make as much of this as, perhaps, he should have, as shown by the first sentence beginning on p. 72), and especially for the careful picture of the almost unanimous condemnation of the subtreasury plan by politicians, as well as sensible farmers of that period (chap. vii).

The second problem is that of the importance of the history of this period for the agrarianists of today. All the reviewer can say is that in his opinion this book, especially, and other books treating of this same period would repay profound study, not only by the rural sociologist but the rural economist as well. One has to assume that most rural-minded intellectuals are fairly informed about American history. However, books similar to this one and dealing with this period are in the same class as the Bible used to be considered—one can't read them too often, or know them too well.

The subtreasury plan, which was "the farmer's tariff" proposed for the Nineties (a scheme of governmental warehouses, the issuance of currency on the warehouse certificates, governmental short-time credit for farmers at one per cent per annum up to 80 per cent of local current value of products stored, all as a farm substitute for the "manufacturer's" tariffs), figured extensively in the campaigns of 1890 and 1892. Since, in essence, this scheme is almost identical with modern agrarianism in the U. S. A. (the first draft did not provide for crop "control"), it is of interest to observe some of the reactions of that period. The arguments for it were almost identical with arguments for the "modern subtreasury plan" even to the "home market for home demand." On the other hand, Senator Vance of North Carolina, who introduced the bill, decided "that he could not support it." Even the severe defeat administered to the Republicans in 1890 by agrarian (subtreasury) support of the Democrats "failed to arouse Congress to action." The Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry "washed its hands of the whole matter." The *New York Times* (of that day) branded it as "one of the wildest and most fantastic projects ever seriously proposed by sober man." The newspapers called the agrarians "hayseed socialists" and projectors of "potato banks."

Some argued that the system might give the farmers an unreasonable power to demand high prices and thus seriously to injure the consumer; others wondered if the subtreasury might not operate in such a way as to be an actual detriment to the farmers (through increased foreign competition) (p. 197).

The House committee held that:

No good could come from making every citizen feel that from the time he plants his crop until it is harvested that to the government he is to look. . . . (p. 198).

It is pointed out that "it discriminated in favor of certain classes of farmers. . . ." ". . . was it not clearly unconstitutional? . . . there was no point to passing a law that would promptly be set aside by the Supreme Court." An editorial writer on a leading farm newspaper resigned because he found the dominant sentiment in the Alliance, on the subtreasury question, in conflict with his views. Finally, the major author of the measure (Macune) was forced to

resign from the Alliance because he "aided in the printing and distribution of documents designed to induce Alliancemen to vote the Democratic ticket. . . ."

This chapter on the subtreasury plan is of especial interest, even in its application to philosophical theories of the immanent change in the character of a country with "advancing civilization." The last chapter, which deals with an appraisal of "The Populist Contribution," is of a different type. Essentially it gives a "Pollyanna" version of history; its main thought is that there is some good in everything—particularly in the Utopian demands of the drouth-ruined land speculators of the Nineties. The reviewer differs with the interpretations of this chapter.

Harvard University

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

*County Library Service in the South: A Study of the Rosenwald County Library Demonstration.* By Louis R. Wilson and Edward A. Wight. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935. Pp. xv, 259. \$2.00.

In an attractive and significant setting, a five-year demonstration experiment of county library service in the South is here evaluated. This descriptive background may well serve as an approach to the study of almost any phase of what might be termed public culture in the South. The geographic, economic, social, educational, and cultural aspects are covered, and the frequent references to Dr. Odum's regional work assures us that the alluring approach is well based.

The project reported, sponsored by the Julius Rosenwald Fund and including 11 selected libraries, had two objectives—to stimulate interest in libraries throughout the South and to provide specific demonstrations of country-wide service to all the population, urban and rural, white and Negro.

The Graduate Library School of the University of Chicago sponsors this report which is much more than that term is likely to imply. Not only is it thoughtful and thorough but it makes an interesting evening's reading on its own. Comparisons that come to mind in that respect are *Rural Education* by Benson and Willard, built on the findings of the American Association for Adult Education, and *Hollow Folk* by Sherman and Henry, founded on the investigations of the Washington Child Research Center.

Combined with a lively appreciation of the value of this demonstration is a frank observation on the part of the authors that certain specified circumstances incident to the adoption of the plan hampered the collection of a body of data and the maintenance of operation records sufficient to provide for an adequate measurement of results. Certain other limitations are outlined. But granting these imperfections, the authors have proceeded to analyze and present their material, findings, conclusions, and recommendations in a way that will make this a volume of permanent value in the South and a practical guide for immediate or early action.

The dynamic spirit of the book is reflected in some of its definitions and statements of objectives. The public library is maintained by a democratic society in order that every man, woman, and child may have the means of self-education and recreational reading, the authors assert. It is one of many services. Considered alone, its meaning and significance are limited. It must be described and evaluated as one of a group of socialized, coöperative services deriving its objectives from, and adapting its program to, the general cultural environment of which it is a part. It is an active agent for so assembling accumulated knowledge that it may be applied to the solution of many of the pressing problems of society.

Space is not available to brief other stimulating and sometimes penetrating statements of aims and objectives, some of them prepared by librarians of the demonstration group. It is significant that the duty to serve all of the public regardless of race is stated again and again.

For most rural sociologists undoubtedly the general chapters will be most useful, together with those that report on the very limited reading of books, from all sources, and of periodicals among the people reached by the demonstration libraries. The philosophy as well as the methods and results of coöperation between the public library and the school is given special attention.

For those who wish to go further into the subject the book gives a wealth of well-digested detail, aided by many tables, charts, and maps, a bibliography, an index, and appropriate material in the appendix. The libraries selected for the demonstration were in North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. Details of the Rosenwald Fund plan are outlined. Careful consideration is given to the nature of the libraries in the demonstration, their internal administration, and the use of the libraries as measured by accepted criteria and statistics. All of this work is illumined by the authors' knowledge of the subject and the region, and by the possession of a well-realized philosophy that fills in and interprets without trespassing upon the territory of reported findings. If the arrangement of some of the material and discussion brings moments of wonder, they are followed by the conviction that the authors have considered the alternatives and decided advisedly.

Because of the phenomenal development of public libraries in California and the prevalence and success of the county library in that state, developments there are sketched, as are developments in the Middle West, in New Jersey, and in England. This widens the base upon which the recommendations are built. These recommendations are divided into three groups—those relating to the coöperation of interested agencies throughout the South, those most applicable to the programs of individual Southern States, and those relating to the administration of individual libraries.

*Population Problems.* Second Edition. By Warren S. Thompson. New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1935. Pp. xi, 500.

This revision of Professor Thompson's valuable text on population problems differs little in scope from the first edition—the chapters, while in different order, are practically identical in title. Data from the U. S. Census of 1930 replace those of 1920 used in the previous edition, and the results of many recent studies are utilized; i.e., the discussion of the future growth of the population of the United States centers around the recent estimates of the Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems. The significance of the differential reproduction rates of various nations is discussed with reference to the specific international difficulties of the present.

The work in general is characterized by its calmness and lack of any feeling of alarm concerning the coming of a stationary or decreasing population, the differential birth-rates of social classes, or the immediate necessity for positive eugenic action. The main stress is placed on the significance of the distribution of population, both within and between nations. The author argues for the reorganization of our social and economic system so that only a small proportion of the total population will live in large cities. He questions the economic, social, and cultural superiority of the modern large city, and believes that it jeopardizes man's physical welfare. "The reorganization of the big city is absolutely essential if our mechanical civilization is to prove more than a very brief episode in the life of man." With increasing urbanization, the farms cannot continue to send migrants to compensate for the birth deficit to the cities. The urban failure to reproduce does not prove hereditary decadence, but arises as the consequence of personal reactions to the social and economic system. The diffusion of population in multi-nucleated centers to replace the modern mono-nucleated city is advocated as one of the greatest needs of modern industrial civilization.

Population Association of America

IRENE BARNES TAEUBER

*Sweden: The Middle Way.* By Marquis W. Childs. New Haven: The Yale University Press, 1936. Pp. 165.

*Sweden: The Middle Way* is a book with a purpose. The purpose is not merely to give information, but to unfold information that is pertinent and timely to America. The desire of the author to transmit to our struggling nation a message is not patent; the data contained in this little volume evidence their own value. The recounting of successful consumer and producer coöperation and state regulation of big business conveys its own message. Attesting this is the fact that the volume, though first appearing in January, 1936, is now in its fourth printing.

This little Scandinavian country, lying north of the incessant cataclysmic struggles of its southern neighbors, adopted philosophies of living and methods

of operation in its economic organizations that lie midway between the extreme form of communism, as practiced in Russia, and the opposite capitalistic organization that prevails among most of the nations of Europe and America. In economic, social, and governmental operations the people of this northern country have shown themselves pragmatists; they have formulated programs that worked. They have been occupied with the well-being of their own social order rather than with the traditions of the past or the theories of socialization or capitalism. Thus, when it became necessary to abolish private profits of the wholesale tobacco dealers to secure funds for the old-age pension system, no cry against government entering business prevented the initiation of the program.

The people have come to control business through the establishment of their coöperatives, in some instances, and regulated business by governmental methods, in other cases. The nation is capitalistic, but the trend toward monopoly, so manifest in other nations, has been checked. The prevailing economy adopted is the greatest good for the greatest number.

The Swedes, in initiating their coöperatives, "were primarily interested . . . in lower prices and higher quality . . . and, later, production for use instead of profit." The beginning of the coöperative movement was in 1899 with the formation of the Coöperative Union, made up of small consumer societies confined largely to industrial areas. The Union is now owned by 635 member societies. The first struggle of the Coöperative Union with private business was with the cartel "that dominated the trade in margarine." The Union bought a margarine factory, whereupon the cartel lowered its price. By advertisement the Union won the consumers, because it was obvious that the cartel dropped its prices because of the competition. The struggle continued for more than two years, but by 1911 "the margarine cartel was broken up and prices went to a level which the coöperators considered justifiable from the point of view of the cost of manufacture and distribution." Other struggles and successes followed, including the victory over the milling cartel.

The consumers' coöperatives that are affiliated with the Coöperative Union drew their membership from all classes of society, a prince of the royal blood becoming a member of the Stockholm Society, which in 1905 opened its first store. Over one-third of the households of the country are in coöperatives. Small landowners and farmers followed other groups in forming coöperative societies and by 1925 approximately 19 per cent of all coöperators were farmers.

These coöperative societies have succeeded; in the Stockholm area alone they operate 380 shops. While they have saved their own members and their customers money, they have also become an educational force giving courses in economics and coöperation. Moreover, the *esprit de corps* of the coöperative movement has been preserved by the fact that officers have drawn salaries below those that prevail in private business. Also, coöperation for producers as well as consumers is growing, especially among farmers. The Milk Central provides



milk for the Stockholm consuming public, an important factor in the city's high milk consumption.

Details (every chapter sparkles with them) cannot be given of the struggle for cheaper electric light bulbs, the ramifications extending to America, the beating down of prices on goloshes, the success in manufacturing vegetable oils and cash registers. But a statement is necessary on low-cost housing. Private capital, as in America, failed to produce low-cost houses for families of low income. Coöperators have built low-cost houses and, under the plan for filling this need, have some rights in saying what their homes are to be. To accomplish this work a national coöperative organization, The Tenants' Savings Bank and Building Society, was formed in 1922. The result has been that about \$90,000,000 have "been spent on low-cost housing by the state, its political subdivisions and the coöperatives themselves."

The state may enter into business or work with business. The state owns and operates its share of the forests and prevents monopoly on the part of private individuals. The state has planned its own power system and in that it assists and competes with private power producers. This practice extends to public ownership within the cities. Moreover, semiprivate, semipublic methods have been formulated and legalized by which the state controls the liquor and tobacco traffic. Profits are limited to individuals and, as a consequence, a large revenue accrues to the state.

Sweden has a king. "He is modest, thrifty, decent, kindly, all the qualities which the Swedes admire." He is the personification of the state, though the state is a democracy. Thus, as labor, and concomitantly the people, came into increasing political power by means of the educational method, the king more and more relinquished his authority.

But Sweden is not without its Morgan. Sweden's financier is Knut Wallenberg. He is the personification of all the people do not want, yet he has served his country well. Even in donating to the Town Hall of Stockholm he afforded an opportunity for the people to express themselves; the structure is the crystallization of the folkways and arts of the people.

Sweden has found a middle way. Perhaps it has *pointed* the way out for sick capitalistic systems which in many countries seem to be in their dotage struggles.

Works Progress Administration

BRUCE L. MELVIN

*Cotton and the A.A.A.* By Henry I. Richards. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1936. Pp. xv, 384. \$2.50.

This study takes cotton under the A.A.A. and, after a careful examination of the background of the movement, its working, and its results, appraises the problem in relation to foreign markets, effect on farm income, potential gains and losses, and feasibility of continued control. The first part of the book gives

the background of the movement, in terms of the statistics of the cotton-farming industry, and the objectives which the government had in view in setting up control of the situation. Following chapters deal with the operations of the program from the plow-up campaign of 1933 through to the Supreme Court decision early in 1936, in which many features of the earlier organization were declared unconstitutional. The administrative organization, promotional campaigns, the contract sign-up, checking compliance, landlord-tenant relations, the development of the Bankhead Act, compulsory compliance features, governmental purchase of cotton and loans, and the financing of the program are described in minute detail.

According to the author, American cotton farmers received 276 million dollars more for the crops of 1933-36 than they would have without the program. Added to this amount are 418 millions of benefit payments, giving some of the cotton farmers, at least, a temporary gain of 695 million dollars more for the three years than they probably would have had without the A.A.A. However, he does not deduct the higher prices for cotton goods or other products which increased in value on account of the A.A.A. either for the cotton-growing participants, the cotton-growing non-participants, or the other American farmers. During the period, estimated American cotton production was reduced by 10.5 million bales, and foreign cotton production was increased 4.4 million bales, leaving a net reduction in the size of the world crops of 6.1 million bales. World consumption decreased probably two million bales in 1933-34, which was the net result of a decline in consumption of American cotton of three million bales and an increase in the consumption of that foreign countries of one million bales. In 1934-35 the world consumption of American cotton was reduced 3.8 million bales and that of foreign cotton increased 1.8 million bales, leaving the total world consumption reduced two million bales. American governmental holdings increased from 2.5 to 6.0 million bales. Foreign production was stimulated chiefly on lands formerly used for cotton. In 1936, with a production of 15 million bales in the United States, American farmers will probably lose 150 million dollars of their gains due to increased competition alone. "In general foreign cotton production is increased more easily than it is reduced" (p. 300). "The increase [of 695 millions of dollars] in a very real sense, is a loan which must be paid off in the future, probably with interest . . ." (p. 293). The consumption of cotton in America was reduced 17 per cent, with consequent unemployment and hardships to the non-farming cotton-industry employees (in addition to higher prices which they had to pay for all farm products raised by the A.A.A. controls including cotton goods). Further, a decreased production of cotton by 26 per cent meant much less work and more unemployment for pickers, choppers, and temporary hired labor on farms. Farm income was temporarily stabilized, and farmers with poor crops had their incomes greatly increased. About one-half of the restricted acreage

was used for food and feed crops. Farmers did not work as hard. Some of the idle land probably became infested with grass and weeds. But the better farmers (those who had already accepted a diversified farming system) were benefited least by the A.A.A. program. Farmers who exaggerated their claims as to acreage in cotton during the base period (and who were not caught) benefited more than those who did not. Areas of expanding cotton acreage suffered relatively in favor of areas of decreasing cotton trends. If the program is continued the tenant will lose most. ". . . tenants would tend to have their incomes reduced . . . even though they were not displaced by landlords" (p. 314). "The government might be able to check such displacement of tenants but could probably not prevent it." ". . . landlords would shift from croppers or tenants to hired labor for producing cotton . . . such a program creates a surplus of tenants—not of landlords" (p. 315). The income of tenants ". . . would probably be decreased over a long-time period." ". . . the long-time effect of reducing the supply of cotton is to reduce the value of it, (while) the immediate or short-time effect is to increase the value of it" (pp. 319, 304).

A considerable part of the rise in cotton prices since 1932 is attributed to dollar devaluation (p. 280), but the author justifiably differs with A. B. Cox that all the increase was due to dollar devaluation (p. 281). The inability of the foreigner to buy cotton from America is different from the more general problem of tariff on dollar exchange because there is no maladjustment in the distribution of cotton acreage in the world (p. 268) and because "there are few restrictions on imports of cotton into foreign countries" (p. 269), as contrasted with other exports to foreign countries. "High international trade barriers on products other than cotton consequently tend to increase the comparative advantage of producing cotton in the United States for export as compared with other products" (p. 269). "Imports of merchandise and gold, the principal source of dollar exchange aside from credit, were 82 per cent larger in 1934-35 than in 1932-33" (p. 267). All merchandise exports from the U. S. increased 44 per cent in value during that period, but unmanufactured cotton declined from 24 per cent of all exports in 1932-33 to 16 per cent in 1934-35.

Many other interesting conclusions are to be found in this book. The author does not take up in any detail the relative concentration of gains in the hands of the well-to-do as contrasted with the poor other than those cited above. Neither does he give a philosophical analysis of what constitutes a "normal" price for cotton as contrasted with the 1910-1914 average-relative-purchasing-power price. The author suggests that, outside of temporary gains, the program created more maladjustments in the cotton industry than it cured (if any) and "has not been able to solve the basic problems involved in government control over the production of cotton. . . ." The author has a "plan" of his own but his chief arguments for it are that it would do almost what *laissez faire* will do anyway.

No student of American agriculture should be without this book. It deserves profound study.

Harvard University

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

*Chile: Land and Society.* By George McCutcheon McBride. New York: American Geographical Society, Research Series No. 19, 1936. Pp. xxii, 408.

It would be regrettable in the extreme if sociologists should get the impression from the title of this volume that it is merely a travel book, for such is distinctly not the case. It is a scholarly analysis of the Chilean agrarian problem and of the impact of the systems of land tenure upon other phases of social organization. Those who are acquainted with the author's previous work entitled *Land Systems of Mexico* will welcome the present one as an extension of that approach into another area.

The book is divided into three parts. The first of these deals with "Central Chile: The Land of the Hacienda," and constitutes more than half of the book. This is justified because of the fact that more than three-fourths of the population live in Central Chile; practically all of the farms in the country are located here; and the hacienda is the predominating type of farm. In 1925, for example, 89 per cent of all the land area of rural properties in this region was in the haciendas. Excellent chapters occur on each of the following phases of the hacienda: Types of Haciendas, The Origins of the Chilean Hacienda, Haciendas Today, Labor on Haciendas, The Influence of the Hacienda, and Subdividing the Hacienda.

Part II contains five chapters grouped under the heading "Southern Chile: A Frontier Region." In this section, chapters are found dealing with several distinct phases of the land problem. First is the question of land titles which is very acute in this area. Second is a discussion of the lands held collectively by the Araucanian Indians, who were a soil-tilling people. Their land was held by the kinship group, and each family was allowed whatever it needed that was not already in use. The public range was used in common. These collective holdings have gradually been taken in severalty until there are only a few remaining. The third phase of the land problem in this area is that of colonization in the forested areas of the extreme southern region.

Part III contains a single chapter entitled Northern Chile: An Arid Region with Scattered Settlements.

The general thesis of the book is that the hacienda system of land tenure has been the influential factor in molding the social and economic structure of the area; that the hacienda came into being as an instrument of conquest; that it has now outlived its usefulness and must give way either voluntarily or by means of revolution to some other system of land tenure. The conquered are now of the same blood as the conquerors and caste is based on economic and social

position alone, contrary to conditions existing in most other republics of Spanish America. "It would seem that Chile can avoid what Mexico suffered and the fate of Russia only if her landowners are wise enough to help promote a modification of the present agrarian society."

Thus the landowners are facing a serious dilemma. During the next few years Chile should provide interesting data on social change.

Some might be inclined to think that the presentation would have been somewhat more systematic had the subdivisions been grouped according to regions. From a geographical standpoint, however, the present approach is justified and the presence of only one small chapter entitled the "Small Farmer: A Third Estate," thrown into the midst of an entire section on the Hacienda serves merely to portray the strangling hold which the Hacienda system has on all other systems of land tenure. The book will undoubtedly stand as a landmark for the understanding of rural social organization in Chile.

Connecticut State College

N. L. WHETTEN

*Consumer Coöperation in America: Democracy's Way Out.* By Bertram B. Fowler. New York: The Vanguard Press, 1936. Pp. viii, 305.

One of the most significant social and economic developments which has occurred in the United States in recent years has been growth of coöperation in many different fields. A considerable volume of literature has appeared dealing with agricultural coöperatives, particularly marketing associations, but much less has been written about consumer coöperation in the United States. In the book under review an attempt is made to describe the present status and recent history of consumer coöperatives in the United States. However, relatively little quantitative data concerning the movement is included. For the most part the book consists of narrative material describing a limited number of consumer coöperatives in different parts of the country. Despite the lack of exact data, it appears from the material presented that the number of associations and volume of business which they transact have been growing rapidly in the United States. The significance of this growth is increased by the fact that most of it has been achieved without governmental aid, such as has been extended to the agricultural coöperatives.

The growth of consumer coöperation in the United States is regarded by the author as being largely the result of the economic distress of the people who organized the coöperatives. The purpose of these organizations is to secure for their members the profits formerly accruing to the privately owned businesses which they patronized. Thus the coöperatives are regarded as essentially economic organizations whose final purpose is to achieve a more equitable distribution of the country's income among consumers, who, of course, include everybody. Economic reform by means of coöperation is regarded as the only feasible way

out of the present economic difficulties in the United States. Political action, in the author's opinion, is quite ineffective in dealing with the economic distress of the common people and is of comparatively little use even in aiding the coöperative movement. The coöperative marketing activities of farmers are regarded as being all right, so far as they go, but as having no possibilities of developing to the point where they will be effective in improving to any considerable extent the economic circumstances of farmers.

The field which consumer coöperatives should, and according to the prediction of the author will, occupy in the future is a very broad one. All business should be carried on by consumer coöperatives, except for the "private ownership of 'use' property whether that property be the home and equipment of the consumer or the property of the individual for individual production" and "public coöperative ownership of natural resources, national wealth and power production, with distribution of power through consumer coöperatives" (p. 168). If consumer coöperatives should grow until they occupy the place predicted for them by the author, the present industrial and distributive system would necessarily disappear. There seems to be little in the past history or present position of consumer coöperatives in this, or other countries, to indicate that this will actually occur. It is much more probable that the coöperatives and the privately owned businesses will both remain as part of our economic system and will compete with each other for business.

The book is hardly to be regarded as a scientific discussion of consumers' coöperation; rather it constitutes a bit of propaganda written by a partisan of the movement. Consumers' coöperation is made to appear as if it were the only possible answer to practically all of the present social and economic problems of the country. Such a presentation may do some good in calling attention to the potential possibilities of the movement, but it may also do some harm by overselling the program to certain groups. Despite the importance of the movement in many different countries, there appears to be no logical basis for considering it a cure-all for the economic and social problems of the present day. Other movements, such as the coöperative marketing of farm products and governmental regulation of monopolistic practices, which are largely ignored or belittled by the author, may be very important in solving such problems.

Louisiana State University

ROY A. BALLINGER

*The Courts and Public School Property.* By Harold H. Punke. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936. Pp. 311. \$3.00.

This book contains the collection and brief citation of approximately 1,000 court cases dealing with the acquisition, use, and disposal of school property. These cases are drawn from various states in the Union depending upon their relevance to the question under consideration. They are carefully classified,

according to subject headings, in a total of 10 chapters. The author has attempted to work out the principles of common law which apply to the practical problems of public school administration; hence, the reader does not find extended discussion of the basic assumptions contained in the law or the implications which they have from the standpoint of community development. Nevertheless, the main purpose of the book is realized, and the contents should be of interest to school officials and others directly concerned with problems of school administration.

Michigan State College

C. R. HOFFER

*Following the Prairie Frontier.* By Seth K. Humphrey. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1931. Pp. 265. \$2.50.

Persons interested in the problems of land settlement and especially those now grappling with the current problems of the Plains States will find much valuable information in this small volume. Brief, sparkling anecdotes acquaint the reader with the author's experiences in "following the prairie frontier." "Following" in this case means coming along at a distance; the author relates his experiences as an agent for a land-mortgage company; after the westward surge had passed on to newer fields, or the settlers had "gone back East to the wife's folks," he observed the wreckage that was left. Much of the material supports the old saying that "every homestead breaks three families." It is his picture of conditions as they were in the wake of the settlement that is so valuable, for many of the later difficulties seem to have been presaged by the early events described in the work.

Among the 20 short chapters in the volume, those entitled "Frontier Life," "Work, Play, and Travel," "The Dakota Frontier," "Prairie Driving," and "Prairie Life" will be found the most useful for the rural sociologist. In them are much of the detail necessary to develop vivid pictures out of the haze which frequently represents our information about early life on the prairies. Those familiar with the rush to free lands in Colorado, New Mexico, and other Western States that followed the World War will be struck with the many parallels in the two periods.

Louisiana State University

T. LYNN SMITH

# News Notes

*University of Arizona:*—E. D. Tetreau, rural sociologist on the Agricultural Experiment Station staff, has been appointed professor of rural sociology. A course in Principles of Rural Sociology will be offered during the second semester of the coming academic year.

Mr. Clifford F. Thomallo and Mr. M. Foss C. Smith have been appointed as research aides under the Resettlement Administration. With the assistance of 11 enumerators supplied by Arizona WPA District No. 3, they are filling schedules for the "Survey of Rural Population Mobility and Agricultural Labor." Approximately 3,000 household schedules and schedules for all farms in the sample areas will be filled.

The final results of rural relief surveys are being tabulated and will be prepared for publication during the summer and early fall. A "Spot Survey of 60 Families Referred to the Resettlement Administration by Pinal County Board of Public Welfare" was completed during early June and the manuscript was submitted to administrative officers for their use and approval.

*Connecticut State College:*—Professor I. G. Davis has succeeded H. R. Tolley as chairman of the Advisory Committee on Economic and Social Research in Agriculture of the Social Science Research Council. This committee held its formal spring meeting June 5 and 6 at the Brookings Institution Committee Room in Washington, D. C.

N. L. Whetten has worked with the Rural Research Unit of the Works Progress Administration during the summer months. He is collaborating with C. C. Zimmerman of Harvard University on a monograph, *The Rural Family on Relief*.

*Drew Theological Seminary:*—Professor Ralph A. Felton, associate professor of rural sociology of Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, New Jersey, gave courses during the summer in the Near East School of Theology, Beirut, Syria. During the school year 1936-1937, he will be visiting professor at the Nanking Theological Seminary, Nanking, China.

*Harvard University:*—Dr. Antonín Obrdlík, Rockefeller fellow from Czechoslovakia, is participating as an observer in the Community Studies under the direction of Professor C. C. Zimmerman at Harvard.

Professor C. C. Zimmerman has been appointed chairman of the Board of Tutors in the division of sociology for next year. Dr. Robert K. Merton is



promoted to secretary of the Board of Tutors, succeeding Dr. Carl S. Joslyn, who has been appointed associate professor of sociology at the University of Maryland.

Professor Zimmerman's new work on *Consumption and Standards of Living* came from the presses of D. Van Nostrand in June. This work is dedicated to John D. Black, professor of economics at Harvard University.

The division of sociology at Harvard announces that W. I. Thomas will be in residence for the academic year 1936-1937, offering a course on Group-Habit Systems for graduates and undergraduates, and also a general Seminar for graduates.

*Milbank Memorial Fund*:—Edgar Sydenstricker, scientific director of the Milbank Memorial Fund, 40 Wall Street, New York, and consultant statistician of the United States Public Health Service, died of a cerebral hemorrhage on March 19, 1936.

Mr. Sydenstricker was born July 15, 1881, in China, of missionary parents, Rev. Dr. Absalom and Caroline Stulting Sydenstricker, both of West Virginia. He came to the United States in 1896. He was graduated from Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia, and received the degree of M.A. in 1902 from that university. He pursued graduate work at the University of Chicago and The Johns Hopkins University. After leaving college he was principal of the high school at Onancock, Virginia, for three years. In 1905 he became editor of the *Daily Advance*, Lynchburg, Virginia, and soon thereafter also became a special writer for various newspapers and magazines.

In 1907-1908 he was a fellow in political economy in the University of Chicago. Trained as an economist, his early studies, from 1908 to 1915, were made for the United States Immigration Commission and the United States Commission on Industrial Relations. As a special investigator, he made extensive surveys of wages, working conditions, and standards of living of industrial workers, especially in industries employing large numbers of foreign-born.

In 1915 he was appointed statistician in the United States Public Health Service to assist Dr. B. S. Warren. Jointly they investigated the relation of economic status to the health of garment workers in New York City and made a factual study of sickness insurance as organized and administered in European countries. Mr. Sydenstricker continued with the United States Public Health Service until 1928, becoming chief statistician and head of the Office of Statistical Investigations, which was organized and developed under his leadership as a permanent part of the Service. As chief of this office, he not only conducted his own statistical studies but also guided and assisted studies conducted by other research units of the Public Health Service, including studies in industrial hygiene, child hygiene, and venereal diseases.

For one year, 1923, Mr. Sydenstricker had a leave of absence from the Public

Health Service to organize the Epidemiological Service of the Health Organization of the League of Nations. He established a service there which has continued ever since under Dr. F. G. Boudreau.

From 1916 to 1920 he collaborated with Dr. Joseph Goldberger of the United States Public Health Service on epidemiological studies of pellagra in the South and was in charge of the statistical studies on the relation of dietary, economic, and sanitary factors to the prevalence of this disease in cotton-mill villages. These inquiries, which contributed greatly to an understanding of the conditions under which pellagra occurs in these villages, are models in the use of the survey and statistical method in social and economic studies.

In 1925 he became research consultant to the Milbank Memorial Fund. In 1928 he joined the staff as director of research and became the administrative head of this foundation in April, 1935, with the title of scientific director. He continued an active contact with the United States Public Health Service as consultant.

In 1934-35 he was associated with President Roosevelt's Committee on Economic Security and directed its studies on "Risks to Economic Security Arising Out of Ill Health." Largely as a result of his work with this Committee, a plan for an expanded federal program of public health and disease prevention was developed.

He was a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the American Public Health Association, the American Statistical Association, the New York Academy of Medicine, and the Royal Statistical Society (Great Britain), and a member of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, the Academy of Political and Social Science, Council of Foreign Relations, American Epidemiological Society, the International Institute of Statistics, the National Research Council, and the Social Science Research Council. His fraternities were: Kappa Sigma, Phi Beta Kappa, and Delta Omega. He was a member of the Cosmos Club, Washington.

*Princeton University:*—Dr. Frank W. Notestein has been appointed as lecturer in the School of Public and International Affairs, to initiate teaching and research work in the field of population problems this fall. Dr. Notestein will be joined by Mr. Henry S. Shryock, Jr., as research assistant, and Mr. John D. Durand, who has been awarded a graduate fellowship by the Milbank Memorial Fund.

Dr. Notestein comes to Princeton from the research staff of the Milbank Memorial Fund where he has been in charge of the research work in population problems for a number of years.

Mr. Shryock is a graduate student in the department of sociology of the University of Wisconsin. During the past year he has been engaged in research

work at the Bureau of the Census on a predoctoral fellowship awarded by the Social Science Research Council.

Beginning January 1, 1937, the Princeton group will assume editorial responsibility for *Population Literature*, the bibliography of the Population Association of America, under the joint sponsorship of the university and the Association. Dr. Irene Barnes Taeuber will continue as one of the editors, in charge of bibliographical work, which will be done in the Library of Congress.

*Sociological Research Association*.:—A group of sociologists representing all the varied interests of the subject and each one a member of the American Sociological Society met at the Hotel Morrison in Chicago on May 9, 1936, and organized the Sociological Research Association.

Membership in this association is by invitation only, and a limit of 100, members is set. To quote from the constitution: "Eligibility for membership in the association shall be restricted to persons possessing the Ph.D. or its equivalent, who have made a significant contribution to sociological research other than in a doctoral dissertation, and who are maintaining an active interest in the advancement of sociological knowledge."

The governing body is an executive committee of five. This committee includes the president and secretary-treasurer. Membership on this committee is for a term of five years. The newly-elected executive committee consists of F. Stuart Chapin, Donald Young, Robert M. MacIver, Stuart A. Rice, and E. B. Reuter. The order of presidential succession will be from the first named to the last named and thence to the senior member of the committee each year.

The object of the association is the advancement of the science of sociology.

*Texas A. and M. College*.:—C. Horace Hamilton has entered into his duties as economist in rural life problems in the division of farm and ranch economics at the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station.

*Utah State College*.:—On July 1, Lowry Nelson assumed his duties as director of the Utah Agricultural Experiment Station.

*Washington, D. C.*.:—Carl C. Taylor has given up the administrative duties of his position as assistant administrator in the Resettlement Administration. He will give full time to directing the activities of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life in the United States Department of Agriculture and the Division of Social Research in the Resettlement Administration.

John Holt has resigned from his position in the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life and has accepted a position as professor of sociology at the College of William and Mary.

## Books Received

- The Populist Revolt.* By John D. Hicks. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1931. Pp. xiii, 473. \$4.00.
- Following the Prairie Frontier.* By Seth K. Humphrey. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1931. Pp. 265. \$2.50.
- Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology.* Volumes I, II, III. By P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1930-32. Pp. xx, 645—677—751. \$7.50, the set of three volumes.
- Cotton and the A.A.A.* By Henry I. Richards. Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1936. Pp. xv, 389. \$2.50.
- Marketing Agreements Under the A.A.A.* By Edwin G. Nourse. Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1935. Pp. xii, 439. \$2.50.
- Tobacco Under the A.A.A.* By Harold B. Rowe. Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1936. Pp. xiii, 317. \$2.50.
- The American Farmer and the Export Market.* By Austin A. Dowell and Oscar B. Jesness. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1934. Pp. v, 269. \$2.00.
- Sweden: The Middle Way.* By Marquis W. Childs. New Haven: The Yale University Press, 1936. Pp. 165.
- Cash Relief.* By Joanna C. Colcord. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1936. Pp. 263. \$1.50.
- Country Life Programs.* Proceedings of the Eighteenth American Country Life Conference. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936. Pp. 131.
- Studies of Differential Fertility in Sweden.* Stockholm Economic Studies No. 4. By Karl Arvid Edin and Edward P. Hutchinson. London: P. S. King & Son, 1935.
- A Study of Special Kinds of Education for Rural Negroes.* By Maurice E. Thomasson. Charlotte, North Carolina, 1936. Pp. vi, 104.
- Consumption and Standards of Living.* By Carle C. Zimmerman. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1936. Pp. xvi, 602.
- Consumer Coöperation in America: Democracy's Way Out.* By Bertram B. Fowler. New York: The Vanguard Press, 1936. Pp. viii, 305.



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# Contemporary Background of California Farm Lab

*Paul S. Taylor and Tom Vasey*

THE SPREAD of an industrialized labor pattern is an outstanding fact in the history of farming in California.<sup>1</sup> Intensification of agriculture constitutes the physical basis for the shift from dependence upon laborers of the familiar "farm hand" type, to dependence upon unstable "industrialized" masses of hand workers. As pointed out in the preceding article, the value of intensive crops represented less than four per cent of the total value of California agricultural production in 1879. By 1929, only a half century later, intensive crops represented not four per cent, but practically four-fifths of the total.

Contrasting sharply with California are the farm labor patterns of Iowa and Mississippi, which have been selected for purposes of comparison. In most of the tables accompanying this article, statistics of these three states, and of the United States as a whole, will be presented. Iowa typifies corn and hog production on the family farm. Mississippi represents cotton culture under the share-tenant system.

Demand for farm labor in California is not only heavy because of intensive crop production; it is also concentrated to a marked degree because of the scale of farm operation. The large farm is very prominent in the rural economy, and the large grower exercises great influ-

Paul S. Taylor is associate professor of economics at the University of California; Tom Vasey is a field investigator in the Resettlement Administration.

<sup>1</sup> This article presents results of researches initiated by the Division of Rural Rehabilitation, California Emergency Relief Administration, and continued through the support of the Resettlement Administration and Social Security Board. An earlier article in this series, "The Historical Background of California Farm Labor," was published in the September issue of *Rural Sociology*.



**TABLE I**  
**LARGE-SCALE FARMS IN THE UNITED STATES, CALIFORNIA, IOWA, AND**  
**MISSISSIPPI, 1929, BY TYPE OF FARM\***

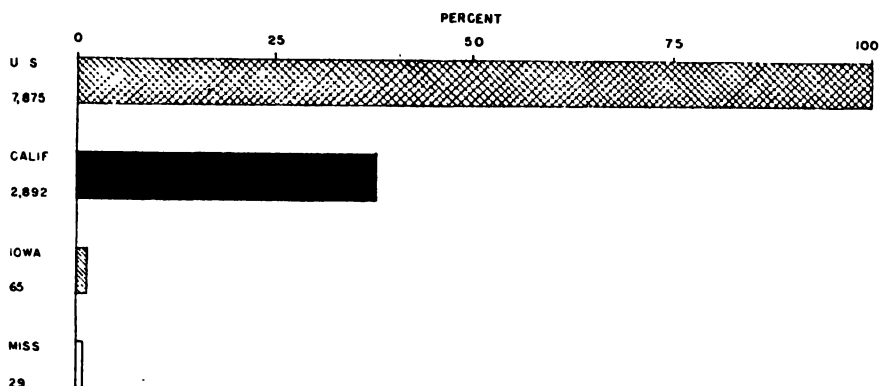
<i>Type</i>	<i>Number</i>				<i>Per cent</i>			
	<i>U. S.</i>	<i>Cal.</i>	<i>Iowa</i>	<i>Miss</i>	<i>U. S.</i>	<i>Cal.</i>	<i>Iowa</i>	<i>Miss.</i>
All.....	7,875	2,892	65	29	100.0	36.7	0.8	0.4
Fruit.....	1,924	1,157	..	2	100.0	60.1	....	†
Truck.....	785	469	4	1	100.0	59.7	0.5	0.1
Poultry†.....	225	119	..	1	100.0	52.9	....	0.4
General.....	50	22	..	..	100.0	44.0	....	....
Dairy.....	882	357	2	3	100.0	40.5	0.2	0.3
Cash Grain.....	486	160	3	..	100.0	32.9	0.6	....
Crop Specialty.....	699	212	2	..	100.0	30.3	0.3	....
Cotton.....	441	133	..	22	100.0	30.1	....	5.0
Stock Ranch.....	1,829	230	..	..	100.0	12.6	....	....
Feed Lot.....	45	4	1	..	100.0	8.9	2.2	....
Animal Specialty.....	408	26	53	..	100.0	6.4	13.0	....
Country Estates.....	82	3	..	..	100.0	3.6	....	....

\* Compiled from U. S. Department of Commerce and U. S. Dept. of Agriculture bulletin: "Large-scale Farming in the United States." Large-scale farms are farms whose annual product is valued at \$30,000 or more.

† Less than one-tenth per cent.

‡ In California there were many poultry farms having as many as 4,500 chickens that reported a value of products less than \$30,000. These were included as large-scale poultry farms.

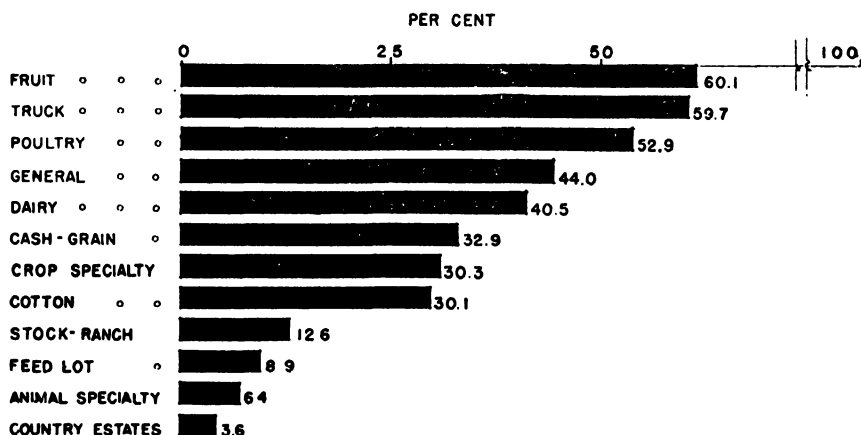
**CHART 1**  
**NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF LARGE-SCALE FARMS, ALL TYPES,**  
**UNITED STATES, CALIFORNIA, IOWA, AND MISSISSIPPI, 1929**



ence in councils of agricultural employers. More than one-third of all large-scale farms in the entire country were located in California in 1930 (see Table I and Chart 1). As compared with 2,892 farms in California whose annual product was valued at \$30,000 or above, only 731 were located in Texas, the state with the next highest number, 65 were in Iowa, and 29 in Mississippi. Although Mississippi ranked fourth among the states in cotton production in 1930 and California ranked eleventh, there were only 22 large-scale cotton farms in Mississippi, while there were 133 in California. Within the borders of the state in 1930 were 40.5 per cent of the large-scale dairy farms of the United States, 44 per cent of the large-scale general farms, 52.9 per cent of the large-scale poultry farms, 59.7 per cent of the large-scale truck farms, and 60.1 per cent of the large-scale fruit farms (see Chart 2).

Together with crop intensification and large-scale production organization have come commercialization of California agriculture, higher capitalization, increased production for a cash market, and a high cash

CHART 2  
PERCENTAGE OF LARGE-SCALE FARMS  
IN THE UNITED STATES LOCATED IN CALIFORNIA,  
BY TYPE OF FARM, 1929



expenditure for wage labor. Each of these developments contributes to the industrialization of labor relations. In Mississippi the average cash expenditure per farm for farm labor was only \$137 in 1929; in Iowa it was \$323, approximating the national average of \$363. But in California the average cash expenditure on farm labor, per farm reporting, was \$1,438, the highest of any state in the Union, and almost four times the national average<sup>2</sup> (see Table II). Although a high proportion of farms in Iowa, as in California, reported employment of wage labor, viz., 57.1 and 66.7 per cent, respectively, the amount spent per farm was only one-fourth as great in Iowa as in California. Furthermore, the percentage of the total value of crops which was spent in cash wages to farm labor was only 8.5 in Iowa as compared with 24.2 in California (see Chart 3). In Mississippi less than one farm in six, compared with two-thirds of the farms in California, reported payments to wage labor. The cash wage bill on farms, which reached one-quarter of the total value of the crops of California farms, amounted to barely 2.4 per cent of the total crop value in Mississippi. These figures throw into clear relief the heavy dependence of California agriculture on wage labor, the moderate dependence of farms in Iowa, and the very slight dependence in Mississippi.

The rural wage-earning population so created in California, is, proportionately, the largest rural wage-earning class in any state of the Union. According to the Census of 1930, barely 10 per cent of all persons gainfully employed in agriculture in Mississippi were paid farm laborers (see Table III). In the entire United States the percentage of paid farm laborers was 26; in Iowa it was 27. But in California, paid farm laborers constituted 57 per cent of all persons gainfully employed in agriculture. This was more than double the national average, and was the highest proportion of paid farm laborers in any state. In other words, of all persons gainfully engaged in agriculture—owners, tenants, managers, laborers—only one in 10 were

<sup>2</sup> These figures represent the total wage bill per farm reporting cash expenditures for labor. They do not mean, as some Californians have publicly stated, that individual farm laborers in California receive four times the average amount received by individual laborers throughout the nation.

TABLE II  
CASH EXPENDITURES FOR FARM LABOR, UNITED STATES, CALIFORNIA, IOWA, MISSISSIPPI, 1929

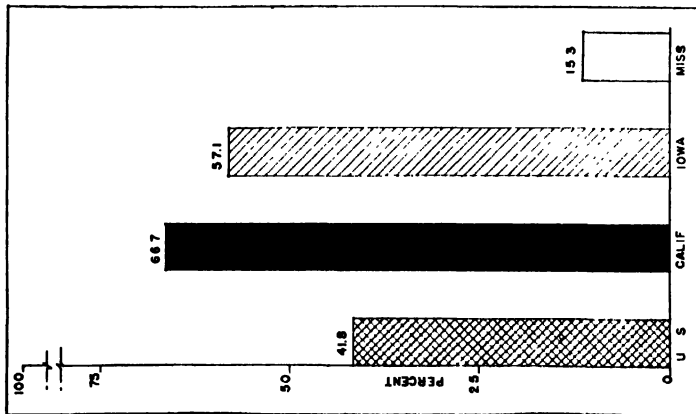
	All Farms	Farms Reporting Cash Expenditure for Labor			Value of Crop, All Farms	Cash Expenditure for Labor on Farms Reporting	Per cent of Total Value of Crop Expended for Labor
		Number	Per cent	Average Expenditure per Farm			
United States.....	6,288,648	2,631,601	41.8	363	\$ 8,080,072,011	\$955,420,313	11.8
California.....	135,676	90,492	66.7	1,438	537,478,777	130,158,510	24.2
Iowa.....	214,928	122,669	57.1	323	466,431,781	39,681,156	8.5
Mississippi.....	312,663	47,811	15.3	137	270,501,649	6,552,266	2.4

TABLE III  
PAID FARM LABORERS IN RELATION TO ALL PERSONS GAINFULLY EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE (10 YEARS OF AGE  
AND OVER), IN THE UNITED STATES, CALIFORNIA, IOWA, AND MISSISSIPPI, 1900-30

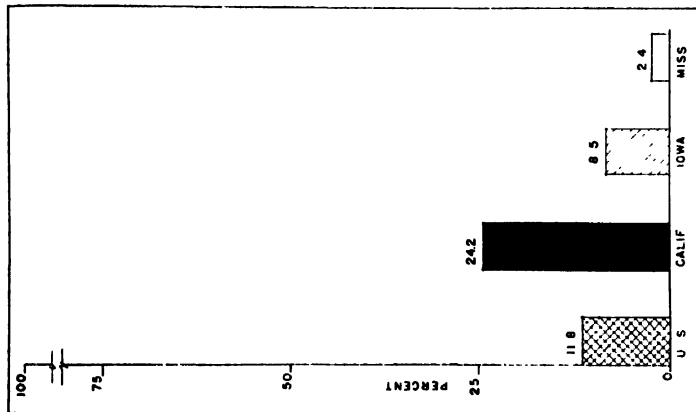
Year	Number of Persons Gainfully Employed in Agriculture				Paid Farm Laborers							
					Number				Per cent			
	U. S.	Cal.	Iowa	Miss.	U. S.	Cal.	Iowa	Miss.	U. S.	Cal.	Iowa	Miss.
1900	10,305,029	145,801	370,957	486,560	2,155,957	59,881	66,217	84,446	20.9	41.1	17.8	17.4
1910	12,388,309	211,898	353,724	671,955	2,895,099	107,543	79,869	87,706	23.4	50.7	22.6	13.0
1920	10,665,812	260,612	326,230	498,498	2,336,009	119,827	74,278	55,429	21.9	46.0	22.8	11.1
1930	10,471,998	332,024	330,881	557,067	2,732,972	190,022	89,165	55,161	26.1	57.2	26.9	9.9

CHART 3  
CASH EXPENDITURES FOR FARM LABOR  
UNITED STATES, CALIFORNIA, IOWA, AND MISSISSIPPI, 1929

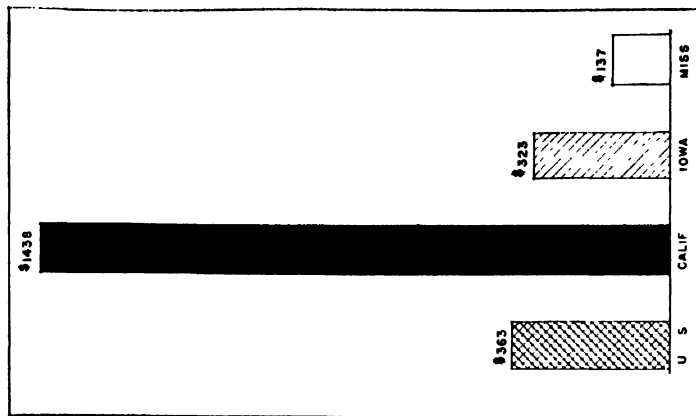
PERCENTAGE OF FARMS  
REPORTING EXPENDITURES



PERCENTAGE OF INCOME OF  
ALL FARMS EXPENDED FOR LABOR



AVERAGE EXPENDITURE  
PER FARM REPORTING



paid laborers in Mississippi, and one in four in the United States. But in California, more than half were paid laborers.

The labor problem of rural Mississippi, in striking contrast to that of California, centers about share-tenants, who are largely croppers furnishing only their labor and receiving pay in the form of a share of the crop. Of all Mississippi farms, 62.5 per cent were operated by tenants (including croppers) who paid rentals "other than cash"; 43.3 per cent, representing tenancy at its lowest form, were operated by croppers (see Table IV). In Iowa only 25.9 per cent of all farms were operated by "other than cash" tenants, and in California only 7.8 per cent. These dramatic contrasts are presented graphically in Charts 4 and 5. In Mississippi the cropper is at the center of the problem; in California it is the wage laborer.

The tenuousness of the connection of California farm laborers with the farm is further emphasized by their residence. While 74.4 per cent of paid farm laborers in Mississippi and 77.4 per cent in Iowa resided on the farm in 1930, only 43.5 per cent resided on the farm in California (see Table V). In Mississippi 5.2 per cent, and in Iowa 7.6 per cent of paid farm laborers had urban residence. But in California 28.6 per cent were urban.

California agriculture, then, has built up a rural proletariat, partly of alien race, propertyless, and without ties, protective or otherwise, to the soil which it tills. The delta farms of Mississippi, by contrast, operate with a variant of the ante-bellum plantation system, relying on share tenants who are housed and "furnished" on the farm, and who are stable throughout the crop year.

The laborer of California who works in its characteristic intensive crops is subject to regular unemployment caused by highly seasonal demand for his labor. A recent study<sup>3</sup> covering 33 important California counties shows demand for labor which at its slack in January is only 23.4 per cent of the peak demand of September. Even when total demand for farm labor in the state is strong, the peaks of individual

<sup>3</sup> California State Relief Administration, Division of Research, "Survey of agricultural labor requirements in California, 1935," December, 1935.

TABLE IV  
FARMS IN THE UNITED STATES, CALIFORNIA, IOWA, AND MISSISSIPPI CLASSIFIED BY STATUS OF OPERATOR, 1930

	Number				Per cent			
	U. S.	California	Iowa	Mississippi	U. S.	Cal.	Iowa	Miss.
All Farms.....	6,288,648	135,676	214,928	312,663	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Operated by:								
Owners.....	3,568,394	103,506	111,333	86,047	56.7	76.3	51.8	27.5
Full owners.....	2,911,644	90,375	85,272	77,382	46.3	66.6	39.7	24.7
Part owners.....	656,750	13,131	26,061	8,665	10.4	9.7	12.1	2.8
Managers.....	55,889	7,768	1,980	999	0.9	5.7	.9	.3
Tenants.....	2,664,365	24,402	101,615	225,617	42.4	18.0	47.3	72.2
Cash tenants.....	489,210	13,880	45,978	27,103	7.8	10.2	21.4	8.7
Other tenants.....	2,175,155	10,522	55,637	198,514*	34.6	7.8	25.9	62.5

\* Of the 198,514 "other tenants" in Mississippi, 135,293 are croppers—those who furnish only their labor. They constitute 43.3 per cent of all farmers and 60 per cent of all tenants.



TABLE V  
PAID FARM LABORERS IN THE UNITED STATES, CALIFORNIA, IOWA, AND MISSISSIPPI, CLASSIFIED BY RESIDENCE, 1930

	Total*	Number		Per cent		
		Rural		Rural		Urban
		Farm	Nonfarm	Farm	Nonfarm	
United States.....	2,727,035	1,752,047	676,490	64.3	24.8	10.9
California.....	188,678	82,100	52,589	43.5	27.9	28.6
Iowa.....	89,048	68,962	13,347	77.4	15.0	7.6
Mississippi.....	55,071	40,969	11,234	74.4	20.4	5.2

\* These totals are obtained from the *Fifteenth Census*, Vol. III, Part 1. They do not check exactly with the same totals in Vol. IV and Vol. V which are final, while the earlier figures are used in Table III, but were not published by the Census in form permitting use in this table.

CHART 4

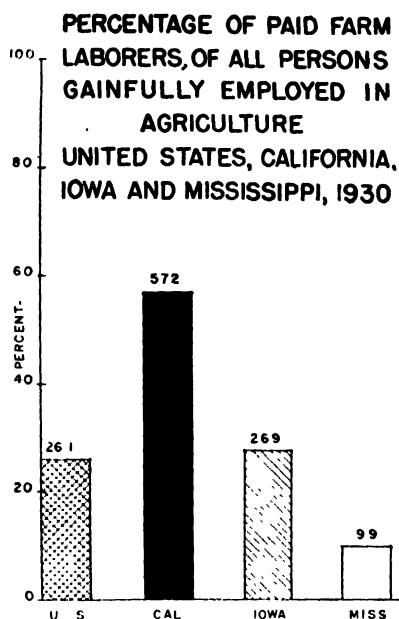
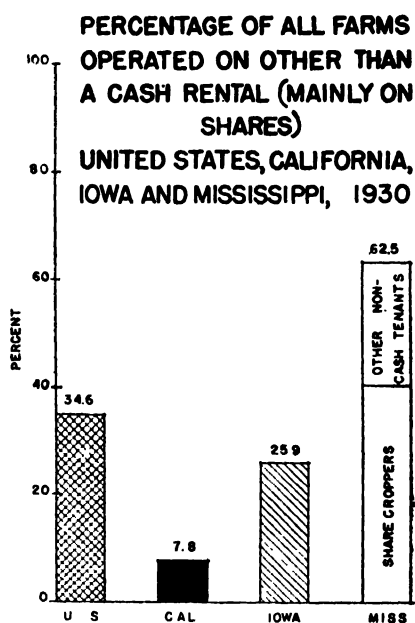


CHART 5



crop demands are so short and so irregular that laborers are obliged to lose time moving from ranch to ranch, or area to area. Since local supplies of labor are not, and should not be, adequate to meet peak demands, high mobility has become a necessary characteristic of those who "follow the crops."

Typical illustrations of the situations which require that laborers shall move are presented in Table VI and Chart 6. The demand for labor in production of 100 acres of cotton ranges from nothing in April to 300 man days in October. In May one man by working every day could plant and tend 100 acres of cotton, but in October he could not do the work on 10 acres. Similar irregularities in labor requirements characterize production of raisin grapes.

For purposes of comparison, data on labor employed in production of barley are also included in Table VI and Chart 6. These show that complete mechanization practically wipes out demand for labor.

Not only does total demand for farm labor rise annually and regularly to a peak something like four times as great as the low point,

TABLE VI

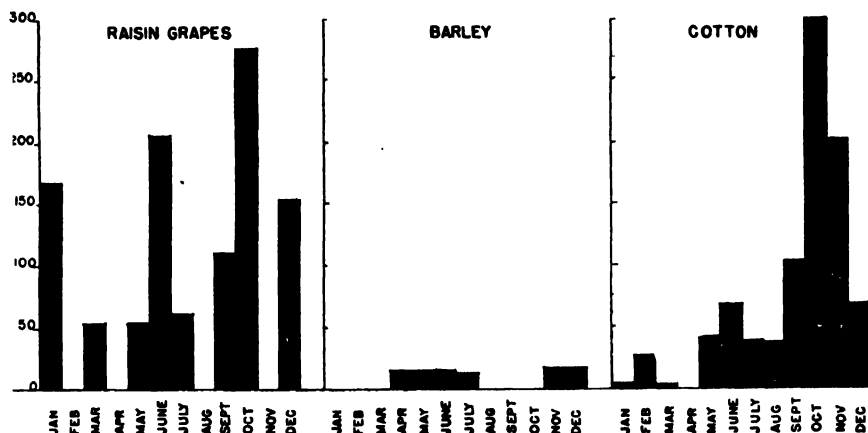
ESTIMATED MAN DAYS, BY MONTHS, REQUIRED TO PRODUCE 100 ACRES OF  
BARLEY, OF COTTON, AND OF GRAPES IN CALIFORNIA\*

Month	Extensive Crop	Intensive Crops	
	Barley	Cotton	Raisin Grapes
January.....	..	9	172
February.....	..	30	....
March.....	..	8	48
April.....	11	...	....
May.....	11	44	50
June.....	8	67	202
July.....	8	40	58
August.....	..	39	4
September.....	..	100	118
October.....	..	300	275
November.....	15	200	....
December.....	15	66	150
	68	903	1,077

\* These figures are computed from estimates gathered originally for annual cost analyses only. Nevertheless, they are useful as illustrations for the present purposes.

CHART 6

MAN-DAYS, BY MONTHS, REQUIRED IN THE CULTIVATION AND HARVESTING  
OF 100 ACRES OF BARLEY, OF COTTON, AND OF RAISIN GRAPES



and not only do peak demands of individual crops occur at different times, but crop acreages often change greatly from year to year. The extent to which this takes place may be illustrated by peas, which require large numbers of pickers. Acreages of peas in 1928, 1931, and 1935 are shown by Table VII. In Imperial County acreage rose from 9,000 in 1928 to 12,000 in 1931, and fell to 8,800 in 1935. San Luis Obispo County, which produced practically no peas before 1926, harvested 4,450 acres in 1928, practically the same amount in 1931, then increased to 10,100 acres, the next year. These shifts are fairly common and force migrant laborers to follow ever-varying routes

Even more serious dislocations of laborers are caused when an important crop abandons an area and moves elsewhere. Cotton has done this (see Table VIII and Chart 7).

In 1909 commercial cotton production was barely started in Imperial Valley on the Mexican border. Two years later 9,217 bales were ginned. In 1918 nearly 58,000 bales were ginned. Ever since 1930, the number of bales ginned annually has been less than it was in 1911. The complete rise and fall of cotton in Imperial Valley occurred within the span of two decades. Coachella and Palo Verde Valleys (Riverside County) also in southern California, exhibit the same trends, though in less pronounced degree.

Decline of cotton production in Imperial and Riverside counties was followed almost immediately by tremendous expansion in the San Joaquin Valley of central California. In 1918 when Imperial production was at its peak, only 135 bales were ginned in the San Joaquin. In 1934, when peak production of 239,585 bales was attained in the San Joaquin, only 3,186 bales were ginned in Imperial.

This movement of cotton out of Imperial Valley and its expansion in the San Joaquin greatly increased the need for seasonal labor in the latter area and diminished it in the former. Cotton picking occurs in the fall during the very months when migrants had been leaving the San Joaquin to return to southern California. Introduction of the cotton harvest, therefore, by extending the season of available work in that

TABLE VII  
ACRES OF PEAS HARVESTED IN SELECTED COUNTIES OF CALIFORNIA, 1928, 1931, AND 1935\*

	1928		1931		1935	
	Acres	Per cent	Acres	Per cent	Acres	Per cent
California.....	26,911	100.0	44,500	100.0	73,893	100.0
Selected Counties:						
Alameda.....	4,020	14.9	5,100	11.5	11,710	15.8
San Luis Obispo.....	4,450	16.5	4,750	10.7	9,350	12.6
San Mateo.....	1,806	6.7	6,200	13.9	9,103	12.3
Imperial.....	9,000	33.4	12,000	27.0	8,800	11.9
Monterey.....	3,500	13.0	6,000	13.5	5,100	6.9
TOTAL.....	22,776	84.6	34,050	76.5	44,063	59.6

\* Crop Reporting Service.

CHART 7

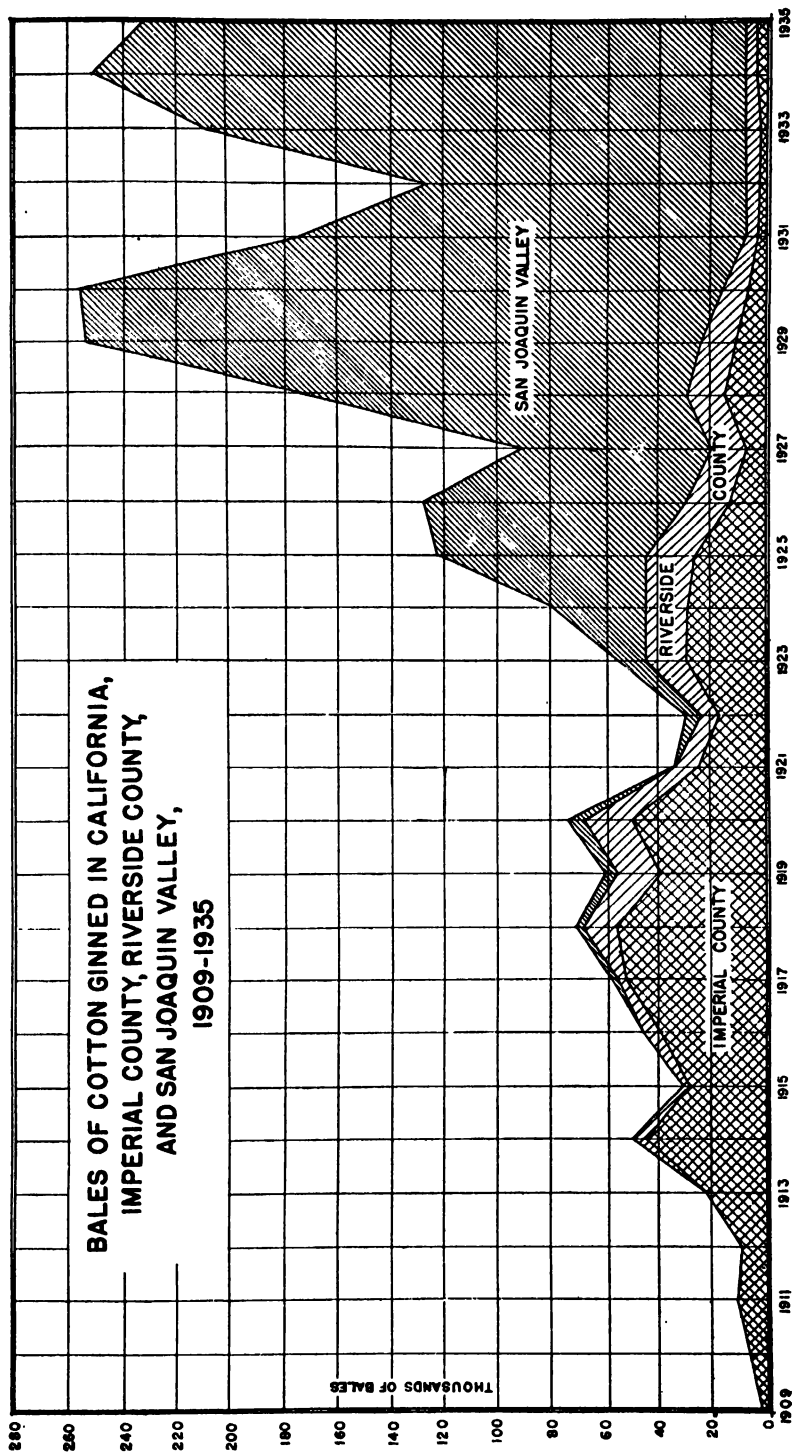


TABLE VIII  
BALES OF COTTON GINNED IN CALIFORNIA, BY AREAS, 1909-35

<i>Year</i>	<i>California</i>	<i>Imperial County</i>	<i>Riverside County</i>	<i>San Joaquin Valley</i>
1909	183	.....	.....	.....
1910	5,986	.....	.....	.....
1911	9,817	9,217	.....	.....
1912	7,934	7,214	.....	.....
1913	22,411	21,145	.....	.....
1914	48,374	45,152	.....	.....
1915	28,586	26,955	.....	.....
1916	43,664	39,028	.....	.....
1917	58,974	52,939	6,035	.....
1918	71,479	57,750	13,594	135
1919	59,082	39,082	17,095	2,905
1920	77,892	49,981	18,740	8,782
1921	34,809	22,604	10,414	1,791
1922	28,473	18,844	8,045	1,584
1923	55,333	28,806	16,979	9,528
1924	79,938	28,247	15,669	36,022
1925	122,260	24,395	18,445	78,395
1926	128,835	13,747	17,537	96,828
1927	89,998	8,185	13,299	67,942
1928	171,042	15,713	13,499	138,688
1929	254,126	11,543	13,454	227,637
1930	256,337	6,725	10,771	238,841
1931	171,238	2,642	8,264	160,332
1932	124,361	*	*	119,373
1933	210,682	2,194	*	202,902
1934	251,523	3,186	8,752	239,585
1935	232,725	3,970	7,687	221,068

\* Included only in state total so as to avoid disclosure of individual operations.

valley, induced many migratory laborers to change their base to that area. And still other laborers—Negroes, whites, and Mexicans—came from other parts of California, from other states, and from Mexico to settle.

Thus, quite independently of low earnings, crop mobility and crop fluctuations constitute real hazards to home ownership, which hordes of farm workers can ill afford to risk.

Reorganization of crop plantings in order to regularize demand for

TABLE IX

MONTHLY CARLOT SHIPMENTS OF LETTUCE FROM MARICOPA COUNTY,  
ARIZONA, IMPERIAL AND MONTEREY COUNTIES, CALIFORNIA, 1934\*

<i>Months</i>	<i>Counties</i>				<i>U. S.</i>
	<i>Maricopa</i>	<i>Imperial</i>	<i>Monterey</i>	<i>Total</i>	
January.....	139	3,673	3	3,815	4,412
February.....	208	3,280	.....	3,488	3,917
March.....	2,791	741	104	3,536	4,325
April.....	377	.....	3,337	3,714	5,051
May.....	.....	.....	2,374	2,374	3,696
June.....	.....	.....	1,874	1,874	3,046
July.....	.....	.....	2,104	2,104	3,510
August.....	.....	.....	1,989	1,989	2,976
September.....	.....	.....	2,485	2,485	2,956
October.....	.....	.....	2,963	2,963	3,478
November.....	5	.....	2,304	2,309	3,471
December.....	1,177	103	559	1,839	3,520
TOTAL...	4,697	7,797	20,096	32,590	44,158

\* These three counties ship 73.8 per cent of all carlots of lettuce in the United States. Distance by highway from Phoenix (Maricopa County) to El Centro (Imperial County) 258 miles; from El Centro to Salinas (Monterey County) 542 miles; from Phoenix to Salinas 740 miles.

farm labor, and so to stabilize it, has long been urged in California. But considerations of market, soil, and climate, rather than conservation of labor power and the human resources of the laborer, continue to govern. On the whole they impede stabilization.

A smooth flow of western carlot shipments of lettuce to the markets of the country has been achieved by staggered plantings. In the Salinas Valley (Monterey County) this has lengthened the work season to eight months, from April to November, inclusive. But it has also created a sharp two-months' peak in Imperial Valley in January and February, and two other sharp peaks have been created in the Salt River Valley of Arizona, in March and December, respectively. Large numbers of lettuce workers in the field and in packing sheds are thus impelled to migrate from area to area to meet these local peaks of



lettuce production, which result from the effort to attain an even flow to market. Some workers appear in all three areas, which are 750 miles apart, during a single year; others work in only one or two of these valleys as part of a cycle of migration which includes other crops and areas as well.

The development of car refrigeration and other modern methods of producing for a national market has enormously increased the demand for migratory laborers. It has not achieved stability for them. Indeed, insecurity pervades the careers of growers as well.

In order to meet the needs of California crops, then, and so to eke out a living, scores of thousands of men, women, and children in California live part or all of the year literally "on wheels." In April, 1927, the California Department of Education enumerated 37,000 migratory children. During August of that same year 11,500 Mexican laborers and their families were counted moving north by motor vehicle over the Ridge Route into the San Joaquin Valley. Many more moved than were counted. The best present estimates place the number of men, women, and children who migrate at some time during the year to work in the crops at 150,000 or perhaps more.

From Imperial Valley the migrants follow the harvests to the San Joaquin, Santa Clara, and Sacramento valleys, a distance of from 360 to 500 miles by air line and longer by road. Within each valley they must move about from crop area to crop area, and from field to field. In August most of them converge on the San Joaquin Valley for the grape harvest, and for cotton picking, which overlaps and follows the peak in grapes. There, when the harvests are over, and in the small town and urban slum areas of the state, they await in partial or complete idleness, the opening of the next season.

Throughout their migrations they must set their route in accordance with annually revised decisions of the growers and the caprice of nature which produces a small or an abundant crop. They accept idleness or employment as they find it. A streak of warm weather advances the ripening of fruit or the opening of cotton bolls; cold retards them.

Either way, the meager income of the fruit tramp is affected. The numbers of his competitors are uncontrolled and are affected by a variety of factors not only in California, but in a half dozen Western States where drought or prosperity may release or retain thousands of potential migrants. Production control may bring better prices and better wages to those employed, but fruit let fall to the ground yields no earnings to pickers. A rise in market price for a day and the harvest proceeds furiously; a sag in price and it slackens or stops. A blight which affects market grade, even if edibility is unimpaired, and there is no harvest. Rain at the wrong time and the result is the same. Hundreds of miles may have been traversed in vain.

The growth of intensive agriculture, then, with highly capitalized, large-scale farming methods and concentrated ownership, huge total payments to farm laborers, has given California an industrialized agriculture, a system of open-air food factories, it might be called. Nearly six per cent of the farms of California are operated by managers, which is six times as high as the national average. Wage relations are highly developed, and gang labor is employed, with foremen and subforemen. Elaborate piece rates are set up, with bonus payments. Farmers' agents recruit and distribute laborers, extremely few of whom belong to the family of the farm operator. Incipient labor organizations have arisen, and bitter strikes have been conducted. The state maintains labor commissioners who aid rural laborers to collect unpaid wages, just as they aid urban workers.

The family farm, which still expresses the national ideal, is subordinate in California to the influence of agriculture on an industrialized pattern.

# The Japanese Rural Community

*Fred R. Yoder*

RURAL SOCIOLOGISTS in the United States have had good opportunities to compare American rural communities with those of the leading European countries. A number of our rural sociologists have studied and traveled in Europe. Books and journals in the several European languages have afforded access to some understanding of European rural communities for those rural sociologists who have not had the opportunity to travel and study in Europe. The voluminous *Source Book* on rural sociology by Sorokin, Zimmermann, and Galpin brought to rural sociologists in the United States a rich mine of information on rural social life and problems in European countries.

But rural sociologists in the United States have had few opportunities to compare rural communities in this country with those of the Orient. The distance to the Orient is so great that few American rural sociologists have been able to travel and study in the Oriental countries. The lack of an understanding of the Oriental languages has prevented rural sociologists of the United States from gaining a knowledge of Oriental rural communities through books and journals. Oriental sociologists have only recently begun to study their rural communities, and the results of their studies have not yet appeared in our journals and literature in rural sociology.

As rural economist and sociologist for the Laymen's Foreign Mission Inquiry, the author of this article had an opportunity to study Japanese rural social life for 10 months, and to make brief general surveys of

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14 Japanese rural communities.<sup>1</sup> The surveys were made with the assistance of two Japanese interpreters, who were university graduates in agricultural economics and rural sociology. The author was assisted in the preparation of the survey schedules used in the study of the communities by several of the leading Japanese agricultural economists and rural sociologists, men familiar with Japanese rural communities. About two weeks were spent in each rural community gathering the data. The general data on Japanese agriculture were taken from various reports of the Ministry of Agriculture.

The convenient rural community unit for study in Japan is the *mura*. This is both a natural and a civil administrative unit. Some years ago, when the present Japanese government was established and the *mura* made the local civil administrative unit, the natural geographic boundaries were followed as far as possible in establishing the local political administrative units. At the present time the *mura* can be regarded essentially as natural communities as well as political administrative communities, though modern means of transportation and communication are bringing a disparity between the natural and political communities.

The *mura* is a rather self-sufficient rural unit containing the *mura* government hall and offices, a 10- to 20-room elementary school, a dozen or more Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples, a post office, small trading shops, buildings and headquarters of farmers' co-operative societies, and various types of fellowship and amusement-center facilities and buildings. Geographically the average *mura* is somewhat smaller than an American township or town, though the population is several times as large. There are more than 10,000 of these *mura* in Japan. The farm households of a *mura* are usually clustered in several small hamlets or villages called *aza*. One of the *aza* is usually of considerable size and has become the chief trading and social center of

<sup>1</sup> The author is indebted to Harper and Brothers for permission to use data from his monograph, "Rural Missions in Relation to Their Economic and Sociological Background," for this article. For full report, see *Laymen's Mission Inquiry Fact-finder's Report—Japan*, Vol. VI, Supplementary Series, Part Two, pp. 49-100, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1933).

the *mura*. In the 14 *mura* studied by the author, there was an average of 9.5 *aza* per *mura*.

The very small size of farms makes the Japanese *mura*, or rural community, a compact social unit. The average size of farms for all Japan is only 2.7 acres, and 35 per cent of the farms are less than 1.2 acres, 85 per cent under five acres, and only 1.3 per cent over 12 acres. The farm households of the *aza* constitute intimate neighborhoods of the village type. The peasants go back and forth to their little plots of rice fields to work. The ownership and tenure of the land are so fragmented that the average farm of 2.7 acres is composed of an average of 19 different, separate plots. The peasants necessarily waste much of their time traveling from plot to plot.

The density of the population makes for intense neighborliness and for a large amount of community co-operation. The Japanese peasant families are voluntarily bound together in little groups of five households each for purposes of mutual help and protection. During the planting, harvesting, and threshing of the rice, groups of families are often seen helping one another. The distribution and use of the water supply for flooding the rice fields require a high degree of co-operation. The density of the population has also been an important factor in the development of farm organizations, co-operative societies, and other community enterprises.

As in all rural communities, the land and tenure system of Japanese agriculture affects the structure and the social relationships of the rural community. Japan emerged from the feudal system of land tenure within the memory of men still living. As late as 1873, most of the agricultural land was held by a relatively small number of landlords, and the great mass of rural dwellers worked as serfs on the land. But in 1873 the feudal lords were compelled to surrender their lands to the Imperial Government for bonds. The government then undertook to redistribute the land among the workers on the soil. While land has been made a marketable economic good and can now be bought and sold, its sale, purchase, and inheritance are so restricted by law, that it

changes hands or families only with the greatest difficulty. The inflexible land and tenure system holds the Japanese rural community to a rather rigid cultural pattern.

While lordship and serfdom have been abolished, tenure relationships of landlord and tenants still retain some of the feudal characteristics. Only 31 per cent of Japanese peasants are full owners; 42 per cent are part owners, and 27 per cent are tenants. A large number of the landlords are absentees. A rather sharp class feeling has developed between landlords and tenants in many communities during the last quarter of a century. These rural communities have experienced struggles between landlords and tenants over the amount of rents paid in various tenure rights and privileges. Landlords and tenants have organized for defensive and offensive purposes. Many communities have been the scenes of open, violent conflict between organized tenants and the representatives and agents of the landlords.

In theory, *contract* has been substituted for *status* in landlord-tenant relationships. As a matter of fact, however, many semifeudal customs survive, that make the relationship between landlords and tenants one of *status*. In this transition from a relationship of *status* to *contract*, many old rights and privileges come into question and dispute. Landlords find great resistance on the part of tenants to changes they wish to make. The tenants still demand from landlords certain paternal obligations, which are inconsistent in a system of contractual tenure relationship. Community harmony is destroyed in many rural communities by these intense landlord-tenant conflicts.

The typical Japanese rural community is highly organized. Every community has from 10 to 20 social and economic organizations. One of the most interesting to the American rural sociologist is the local Agricultural Society found in practically every rural community. This is a quasi-public organization supported by taxes levied by the local government. The local Agricultural Society is a cellular unit of the great Imperial Agricultural Society, national in its scope and organization. The functions of the local Agricultural Society are to sponsor

and support local agricultural technicians, to provide contacts between farmers and technicians, to arrange discussions and lectures on agricultural subjects, and to promote co-operative buying, selling, and utilization societies. The effective production of both rice and silk, the two chief Japanese agricultural products, has become quite technical. Probably the agriculture of no other country has become so dependent on technical knowledge and skill as that of Japan. Each rural community has one or more agricultural technicians to advise farmers. There were over 11,000 of these agricultural technicians in Japan in 1930. The local Agricultural Society is the unit through which the agricultural technician functions. The thousands of local units constitute an articulate national organization for making the needs of agriculture felt in the government and the parliament. The results of the 160 local, provincial, and national agricultural experimental stations are relayed to the farmers largely through the local Agricultural Societies and the agricultural technicians whom they employ.

The Japanese peasant farmer must make every penny count; therefore, practically every rural community has its co-operative buying, selling, utilizing, and credit societies. More than half of the Japanese farmers are members of one or more co-operative societies. The small local societies are federated into provincial and national associations. Products sold by the co-operative societies are rice, wheat, barley, beans, fresh vegetables, fruits, cocoons, raw silk, dairy products, and some livestock. The consumers' co-operatives purchase tools, seeds and seedlings, silkworm eggs, cereals, salt, sugar, saki, fish, petroleum, and clothing. The utility societies are organized to own and operate rice cleaners, barley crushers, milling and threshing machines, silk mills, gas and petroleum motors, special sericulture equipment, and other minor utilities, all of which are too expensive for the peasant farmers to own individually.

Assisting in the promotion and organization of co-operative societies is the Central Union of Co-operative Societies, with national headquarters in Tokyo and various representatives in the 48 provincial capitals. The Central Union gives a one-year course in Tokyo to train

experts, managers, leaders, and promoters, for the co-operative societies. Representatives of the Central Union at the provincial capitals offer brief courses lasting for a few weeks each year for the benefit of the managers of the local societies. The Japanese government also assumes a sort of paternalistic attitude towards co-operatives through the appointment of several co-operative specialists in each province whose duties are to assist in the organization of co-operatives and to gather data for the government on the co-operative movement.

In every Japanese rural community are to be found local units of the five following social organizations: the Red Cross, the Ex-Soldiers' League, the Ladies' Patriotic League, the Young Women's Association, and the Young Men's Association. The Red Cross is the main charity organization of the community and serves a much needed purpose in a country where earthquakes, fires, floods, and, occasionally, famines are disastrous. The Ladies' Patriotic League and the Ex-Soldiers' League are propaganda organizations, closely tied up with the national army and navy leagues, and reflect the military inclinations of Japanese national leaders. However, these organizations serve a fellowship function in the rural communities. The Young Men's and the Young Women's Associations are promoted by the government for the ostensible purpose of fostering physical, intellectual, and moral culture. In reality, however, these two government-sponsored youth organizations are propaganda organizations to maintain the *status quo*, create respect and loyalty for the Imperial Household, support the army and navy, and oppose all new movements demanding economic, political, and social changes, and, especially, to warn youth against the "new dangerous thoughts" that threaten to undermine the Empire.

The local units of these two youth organizations meet frequently. In the larger villages they have buildings of their own. They are the main fellowship organizations for young men and women, though they meet separately and furnish no opportunities for associations between the sexes. Provincial and national meetings of the associations to which the local associations send representatives are held annually. They are



most effective organizations for nationwide governmental indoctrination of youth.

While the Japanese rural people are fairly religious, their religions do not assume the formal organization that the Christian religion has in the rural communities of Europe and the United States. Worship is rather by families and individuals than by groups. There is no religious sabbath day specially set aside for worship. The peasants appear before their little Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples at their own personal convenience, maybe on their way out or back to their fields, or on their way to shop, or at almost any time. Worship by a few bows and signs is finished in a few seconds or minutes, and a small contribution left for the priest. The Buddhist and Shinto priests in the rural communities tend to live secluded lives and usually have little to do with the social life and activities of the people. The 14 rural communities studied by the author had an average of 7.3 Buddhist temples, and 9.5 Shinto shrines. A peasant is often both a Buddhist and a Shintoist.

Only on certain festival, holiday, and patriotic occasions, is there a manifestation of communal worship at the shrines and temples. But these are likely to be large community events for the peasants. All work ceases and the whole community turns out. Sometimes the celebrations last for several days or a week. Various activities are carried on, including worship, feasting, drinking, folk-dancing, plays, pageantry, games, and races. On the chief patriotic days all the school children march to certain shrines and are addressed by priests or other public speakers, and are implored to reverence and respect their ancestors and the emperor and his family. The government has been for years trying to make the Shinto religion, which is the original Japanese religion and still strongest in the rural communities, a patriotic cult for creating loyalty to the emperor.

The rural schools also play a significant part in the social organization of the Japanese rural communities. The rural elementary schools are of large size, usually having from 10 to 20 teachers and from 500

to 1,000 pupils. The superintendents of the schools are highly respected by the peasants of the community and are quite often leaders in various community activities and organizations. The school buildings are used very frequently for meetings by the different associations and societies. Most of the rural communities have an Educational Association made up of all the adults of the community, to help promote education and to assist teachers and school officials with their problems. Many of the rural schools give courses in agriculture for young adults, who cannot attend the technical secondary agricultural schools which are located in the larger towns where students must board to attend.

There is little organized recreation in the Japanese rural community. The old annual and semiannual harvest festivals, New Year's celebrations, and various holiday observances afford an opportunity for certain types of communal recreation. Some of the festival celebrations are occasions for heavy drinking and carousing, and, in some of the remote rural communities, for miscellaneous sexual relations among the young people. According to the customs of the rural communities, young men and women are not allowed to associate in mixed gatherings or as couples, even for courtship. Consequently, the larger rural villages have various commercial recreational houses, that are frequented by the young men, and in which saki (hard liquor) is served, and entertainment afforded by geisha girls, many of whom are prostitutes.

The Japanese rural community is especially politically minded. This is in part a reflection of the general state consciousness that has developed among all the Japanese people as a result of a paternal benevolence on the part of the government and a rising, aggressive nationalism. But the *mura* governments touch the life of the peasants in many places, and make them highly conscious of their local government. The *mura* government is composed of an elective council of 12 men, a mayor elected by the council, and from four to eight clerks and minor administrative officials appointed by the council and the mayor. The local government is both an administrative unit for the national and provincial governments, and a local self-governing institution within powers

and functions prescribed by the provincial and national governments. The national government requires the provincial and local governments to collect annually many different kinds of statistics. In carrying out this required function, the local rural governments are unusually inquisitive with the peasants. A large amount of information on agriculture, population, co-operative societies, schools, shrines and temples, and other local community enterprises is gathered annually in the local government offices.

The local government of the *mura* is closely tied in with the agriculture of the community. The mayor is quite often the president of the local Agricultural Society, or of one or more of the co-operative societies. The agricultural technician has his office in the local government building, and the farmers are in frequent contact with him at his office. Local landlord-tenant disputes are usually discussed and settled at the local government building, often with the assistance of the council and the mayor. Local roads, bridges, water rights, sanitation, support of schools, and the care of dependent and delinquent persons are matters of determination and regulation by the *mura* council. Frequently the peasants gather at the local government building to protest against policies they dislike and to present grievances. They have learned through their local government the value of joint action and national articulation in bringing pressure to bear on the central government for the achievement of agricultural objectives.

While the industrial revolution has been effecting far-reaching changes in the social organization of Japanese cities, it has so far produced no significant changes in the structure and functions of the Japanese rural community. The very limited amount of arable land and the rapid increase in the rural population have prevented the extensive use of energy-saving machines and tools in agriculture. Only one peasant out of four owns a horse or a cow. Hoe agriculture is still predominant. The chief changes that have taken place in Japanese agriculture have been in the increase of scientific methods of cultivation, selection and improvement of varieties of plants, yields per acre, and

development of agricultural associations and co-operative societies. The social organization of the Japanese rural community has changed little in many years. Japan as a nation, therefore, presents a strange contrast of almost medieval rural communities alongside modern machine-made cities.

# Rural Families on Relief

Thomas C. McCormick

THIS PAPER is a brief summary of a survey<sup>1</sup> of rural<sup>2</sup> families receiving relief from State Emergency Relief Administrations, made in the winter of 1933-34, in 19 states and 47 counties by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.<sup>3</sup> The purpose of the study was to learn more about the people who were dependent on public relief in the chief commercial farming regions of the country. The sample was inadequate to represent the country as a whole, so that the interest of the investigation lies in the comparisons it affords between fairly large relief and non-relief populations,<sup>4</sup> in several important regions, as of the month of October 1933.

The great bulk of the families receiving relief were unknown to local relief agencies, where any existed, before 1932. Very few families with male heads, who made up nearly nine-tenths of the total rural relief load, had ever been public charges before the beginning of the major economic depression in 1930. It is probable, however, that a somewhat

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<sup>1</sup> For the complete report, see *Comparative Study of Rural Relief and Non-Relief Households*, by Thomas C. McCormick, Research Monograph II, Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, Washington, D.C., 1935.

<sup>2</sup> Outside centers with 2,500 or more inhabitants.

<sup>3</sup> Counties surveyed, by areas: (I) Old-South-Cotton: Dallas and Limestone, Alabama; Cleveland and Lee, Arkansas; Anson, North Carolina; (II) Dairy: Green, Wisconsin; Cecil, Frederick, and Dorchester, Maryland; Tompkins and Wayne, New York; (III) Corn-and-Hog: Wright and Poweshiek, Iowa; Fayette and Logan, Ohio; (IV) Wheat: Meade and Gray, Kansas; Baca, Colorado; Spink and Walworth, South Dakota; (V) Southwest-Cotton: Hill and Runnels, Texas; Cleveland and Payne, Oklahoma; (VI) Tobacco: Todd and Madison, Kentucky; Sampson and Pitt, North Carolina; (VII) Middlesex and Worcester, Massachusetts; (VIII) Cut-Over: Marathon and Sawyer, Wisconsin; (IX) Cash-Grain: Miner, South Dakota; Linn and Norton, Kansas; (X) Mountain: Elbert and Larimer, Colorado; Utah, Sanpete, and Duchesne, Utah; (XI) New Mexico: Guadalupe and Socorro; (XII) Oregon: Tillamook, Clatsop, and Marion; (XIII) California: Contra Costa and Riverside.

<sup>4</sup> 5,600 rural relief households and about 11,200 non-relief households were included.

larger proportion of families would have had a relief record before 1930 if more adequate relief-giving facilities had existed in the rural areas at that time.

The heads of families on relief were not unemployed to a significantly greater extent than the heads of families not on relief, prior to 1930. In the six-year pre-depression period from November 1, 1923 to October 31, 1929, the male heads of families receiving relief in October 1933 were unemployed an average of 1.4 months annually—about 12 per cent of the time—but only two weeks more than the non-relief heads, who were unemployed about eight per cent of the time. Moreover, these small differences were apparently due chiefly to the

TABLE I  
PER CENT OF TIME MALE HEADS OF RURAL RELIEF AND NON-RELIEF  
HOUSEHOLDS WERE UNEMPLOYED DURING THE PERIODS NOVEMBER 1,  
1923-OCTOBER 31, 1933; NOVEMBER 1, 1923-OCTOBER 31, 1929;  
NOVEMBER 1, 1929-OCTOBER 31, 1933

<i>Last Usual Occupation</i>	<i>Per Cent of Time Male Heads Were Employed</i>					
	<i>Nov. 1, 1923- Oct. 31, 1933</i>		<i>Nov. 1, 1923- Oct. 31, 1929</i>		<i>Nov. 1, 1929- Oct. 31, 1933</i>	
	<i>Relief</i>	<i>Non- Relief</i>	<i>Relief</i>	<i>Non- Relief</i>	<i>Relief</i>	<i>Non- Relief</i>
All Classes . . . . .	16	7	12	8	22	7
Farm Operators . . . . .	7	2	5	3	9	1
Farm Laborers . . . . .	15	9	10	11	20	6
Non-Agricultural . . . . .	16	6	7	5	29	8
No Usual Occupation . . . . .	70	78	80	92	56	56

unequal ages of the relief and non-relief heads, there being relatively more young heads in the relief group who were not old enough to be employed during the earlier part of the six-year period.

In the depression period from November 1, 1929 through October 31, 1933, on the other hand, the heads of families that appeared on relief rolls in October 1933 suffered severely increased unemployment,

or an average of 2.6 months annually, roughly 22 per cent of the time; whereas heads of non-relief families reported almost no average increase in unemployment. This striking divergence between relief and non-relief heads since the beginning of the depression occurred in every usual occupation, although it was less in some occupations than in others.

Similarly, 34 per cent of all relief households, in contrast to only eight per cent of non-relief households, had no member employed in October 1933.

Only in exceptional cases was underemployment or unemployment among relief families due to lack of apparently employable members seeking work. Although twice as large a proportion of relief as of non-relief households had no workers of either sex,<sup>5</sup> in both groups the proportion was small—eight per cent and four per cent, respectively.

Except in the drought-stricken states of the Northwest, where a considerable proportion of all farmers were often forced onto relief rolls, farmers receiving public relief tended to be of the underequipped, marginal type, and other *rural families receiving relief were usually those that had smaller earnings and scantier resources than their neighbors in normal times,<sup>6</sup> as well as during the depression.*

Sixty-six per cent of the families receiving public relief, and 92 per cent of their non-relief neighbors, reported earnings in October, 1933. In two-thirds of all relief cases, therefore, relief was given to supplement rather than to replace family earnings. This indicates that the chief reason for the presence of families on relief in these rural areas was not unemployment, but *underemployment*, in the sense of employment that returned earnings inadequate for self-support.

<sup>5</sup> Any person 16 years of age or over employed, or previously employed and seeking work, in October 1933, exclusive of unemployed persons 60 years of age and over, was considered a worker.

<sup>6</sup> The method of choosing the non-relief sample in this study, namely, the selection of the two nearest self-supporting neighbors of each relief case, resulted in such a strong tendency to equalize the proportions of racial and nativity groups between the relief and non-relief samples that comparisons between them have little significance, and are not given here.

This is further shown by the meagerness of the earnings of relief families as compared with those of non-relief families. Male heads of relief households, other than farm operators, who were employed in October, 1933 earned during that month less than one-third as much as their non-relief neighbors, the average earnings being \$26 and \$82, respectively. It is interesting to notice further that the heads of households that were on public relief in October, 1933 had earned about 30 per cent less than the heads of non-relief households five years earlier in October, 1928 and again ten years earlier in October, 1923. Differences in the age distribution of the two groups have little relation to these figures.

In each of the areas surveyed, farmers on relief operated smaller farms than those of their non-relief neighbors, the former varying by area from a third to nearly nine-tenths the size of the latter, in terms of median acreages.

In primarily agricultural counties, it is somewhat surprising to find that only a small majority of heads, in both relief and non-relief samples, was usually<sup>7</sup> engaged in agriculture.

Within the agricultural group most of the heads on relief were tenants other than share-croppers (23 per cent), with farm owners second (12 per cent), farm laborers third (11 per cent), and share-croppers fourth (5.5 per cent). When the proportions of these several classes in the relief group are compared with the non-relief, it is seen that, in spite of an unknown amount of matching when taking the non-relief sample, the relief rolls exerted a strong selective action on certain occupational classes. Farm owners were very much underrepresented on relief, while each of the other classes was overrepresented, particularly share-croppers, and to a somewhat less degree, farm laborers and tenants.

Passing to the 41 per cent of all male heads of relief households who were employed in industries other than agriculture, the greatest

<sup>7</sup> The "usual" occupation was defined as the last occupation at which the head was employed before October 1, 1929, and for not less than three years within the period November 1, 1923 to October 31, 1933.



**TABLE II**  
**PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF LAST USUAL AND OCTOBER 1933 OCCUPATIONS**  
**OF MALE HEADS OF RURAL RELIEF AND NON RELIEF HOUSEHOLDS**

	<i>Last Usual Occupation</i>		<i>October 1933 Occupation</i>	
	<i>Relief</i>	<i>Non-Relief</i>	<i>Relief</i>	<i>Non-Relief</i>
Total*.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture.....	51.7	55.5	43.4	59.7
Owner.....	12.4	35.6	11.5	38.6
Cropper.....	5.5	1.7	4.6	2.3
Tenant.....	22.9	13.7	22.2	14.1
Farm Laborer.....	10.9	4.5	5.1	3.9
Non-Agriculture.....	40.5	40.2	20.5	33.1
Professional.....	0.2	2.1	....	1.8
Proprietary.....	2.1	7.9	0.5	7.9
Clerical.....	1.9	5.3	0.2	4.3
Skilled.....	7.9	10.3	2.0	6.3
Semi- and Unskilled Labor.....	28.4	14.6	17.8	12.8
No Last Usual Occupation or Unemployed.....	7.8	4.4	36.0	7.3

\* 4,883 Relief and 11,093 Non-Relief Male Heads.

part (28 per cent) was found to fall in the class of semi-skilled and unskilled laborers. The next largest group, eight per cent, was made up of skilled laborers of various kinds. The so-called "white collar" classes—clerical workers, proprietors, and professionals—composed only four per cent of all male heads on relief. The semi- and unskilled laborers occurred on relief rolls out of all proportion to their numbers in the non-relief population; but each of the other classes was under-represented on relief, the degree of underrepresentation consistently diminishing from the higher socio-economic classes to the lower.

Of the households that contained one or more workers, those on relief averaged 2.6 dependents per worker, whereas those not on relief averaged only 1.7, and this ratio was about the same in each occupa-

tional category. That this difference was in the main a reflection of larger families in the relief population is suggested by the slight variation in the number of workers per household.

TABLE III

PER CENT OF RURAL RELIEF AND NON-RELIEF HOUSEHOLDS WITH NO WORKERS, WITH WORKERS BUT WITH NONE EMPLOYED, AND WITH NO WORKERS NOR POTENTIAL WORKERS, BY SEX AND OCTOBER 1933 EMPLOYMENT OF HEAD

<i>Sex and Employment of Head</i>	<i>Per cent of Households with No Workers</i>		<i>Per cent of Households with Workers but with None Employed</i>		<i>Per cent of Households with No Workers nor Potential Workers</i>	
	<i>Relief</i>	<i>Non- Relief</i>	<i>Relief</i>	<i>Non- Relief</i>	<i>Relief</i>	<i>Non- Relief</i>
All Heads.....	8	4	28	4	7	4
Male Heads						
Agriculture.....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Non-Agriculture.....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Unemployed.....	14	34	84	68	12	32
Female Heads.....	28	24	31	7	26	22

The rural households receiving relief in October 1933 were found to be larger than those of their non-relief neighbors, the average size being 4.8 and 4.0 persons, respectively.<sup>8</sup> This fact held true for households with heads of the same age, within every occupational class except professionals, for each race and nativity group except Mexicans, and in all areas except New Mexico.<sup>9</sup> Single-person households and households with five or more members occurred in the relief population relatively more often than in the non-relief.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The relief and non-relief medians, less affected by extreme cases, were 4.0 and 3.0, respectively.

<sup>9</sup> The samples of professionals on relief and of Mexicans were small.

<sup>10</sup> No distinction is made between the terms "household" and "family" in this paper, except where the context makes the meaning clear.

TABLE IV

AVERAGE SIZE OF RURAL RELIEF AND NON-RELIEF HOUSEHOLDS BY SEX AND  
USUAL OCCUPATION OF HEAD, OCTOBER 1933

<i>Sex and Usual Occupation of Head</i>	<i>Average Size of Household</i>	
	<i>Relief</i>	<i>Non-Relief</i>
All Heads. ....	4.8	4.0
Male Heads.....	4.9	4.1
Agriculture.....	5.3	4.3
Owner.....	5.1	4.1
Cropper.....	5.7	4.7
Other Tenant.....	5.6	4.9
Farm Laborer.....	4.7	3.7
Non-Agriculture.....	4.8	4.0
Professional.....	3.4	3.7
Proprietary.....	4.1	3.7
Clerical.....	4.0	3.7
Skilled Laborer.....	5.1	4.2
Semi- and Unskilled Labor.....	4.9	4.1
No Usual Occupation.....	3.7	2.9
Female Heads.....	3.9	2.6

Because it costs more to support a large family, it is to be expected that, where other things are equal, large families will be forced to apply for relief relatively more often than small ones. The assumption that large families are a badge of thriftlessness should be cautiously made in rural areas where birth-control practices are little known and where a small family is still more likely to result from a high death-rate than from the use of contraceptives.

Four out of five of the rural families on relief may be called normal families, consisting of husband, wife, and children, or of husband and wife. The remaining one-fifth was composed of non-family persons and broken families, especially unattached men and the mother-children

type. In contrast with relief households, their non-relief neighbors included relatively fewer broken families and unattached persons, but also fewer families of husband, wife, and children, and more families of only husband and wife, these differences tending to hold in both farm and non-farm groups. The absence of many dependents was probably the chief explanation for the relative scarcity of husband-wife families on relief, with the factor of the age of the couple more or less involved.

Among family heads youthfulness more often than old age was a factor that predisposed to relief. The most noticeable differences in the age distribution of relief and non-relief heads appeared in the groups under 25 years of age, relief families showing relatively more than twice as many heads in that age class as non-relief families. The non-relief sample contained practically as large a proportion of male heads 65 years of age and over as the relief. Although old age made for unemployment, it frequently did not result in relief because it was accompanied by the accumulation of resources.

Families with female heads comprised 13 per cent of relief households and eight per cent of non-relief households. The lack of a male head was a serious handicap that helped to place a number of families on relief rolls.

In all sections of the country surveyed, and in all age groups, the heads of households receiving relief had received less schooling than their non-relief neighbors. Nearly eight per cent of all relief heads had never attended school, in comparison with three per cent of the heads of households not receiving relief. Less than half of the heads of relief households, compared with two-thirds of their self-supporting neighbors, had completed grade school or better. As educational attainments advanced beyond those ordinarily obtained during the years of compulsory school attendance, the handicap of the heads of relief households increased. While only one out of 20 relief heads had been graduated from high school, one out of six non-relief heads were high school graduates.

Like their parents, children of relief families had been to school less than those from non-relief families. During the age of compulsory attendance only five per cent of the children in households receiving relief and three per cent of those in other households were not attending school. As soon as this age was passed, however, relief children dropped out of school more rapidly than non-relief. The percentages completing grade school were 47 for relief and 61 for non-relief. The rates of graduation from high school differed still more widely. Twenty-seven per cent of the non-relief children 15 to 23 years of age had completed high school, compared with 11 per cent, or less than half as many, of the relief children. Whether the general educational standard in any area was above or below average, relief children consistently received less schooling than their non-relief neighbors.

It should be noted that the factor of occupational class was not held constant in comparing the amount of education between relief and non-relief groups. It is clear, however, that the relief rolls tended to select those rural families whose heads had the least education; and that this handicap in social equipment was being continued among the children of the poorer families.

In every area, relief households were found to be slightly more mobile than non-relief households in the same occupational class. For all areas and groups combined in the ten-year period from November 1, 1923 through October 31, 1933, 36 per cent of the relief as compared with 21 per cent of the non-relief households with male heads reported changes in residence across county lines.

The rate in change of residence was little affected by the period of depression.

In October, 1933, after four years of the depression, the highest rates of displacement of relief heads from the industries at which many were usually employed occurred in extraction of minerals, transportation and communication, and manufacturing and mechanical industries, in the order given, and the lowest rates occurred in agriculture. Among non-relief heads also, extraction of minerals and manufacturing and

mechanical industries showed relatively high rates of displacement, and agriculture low rates.

Farm owners revealed less change of personnel and less unemployment than persons in any other occupation. Farm tenants showed only a little less stability than owners. Share-croppers had a higher rate of occupational displacement than other farm operators, but less than that of farm laborers and of the several non-agricultural classes.

Farm laborers in the relief and non-relief groups were at a disadvantage compared with farm operators of all tenures with respect both to retention of their usual occupation and to rate of re-employment. Yet a somewhat smaller proportion of farm laborers was unemployed than was true of most of the industrial classes.

The findings of this survey permit an interpretation of why the families receiving emergency aid in rural areas in October, 1933 were on the relief rolls. The relief families for the most part were found to be simply a precipitate of the semi- and unskilled industrial and farm laboring classes and of the marginal farmers of normal times whose meager earnings and usually heavy burden of dependents never permitted them to accumulate resources with which to tide over a prolonged period of underemployment such as overtook them after the onset of the depression. As the circle of underemployment widened and its period lengthened, the precipitate increased and included families somewhat higher on the economic scale. Thus a survey made at a later date would show an unknown number of the self-supporting families of the present study in the relief group.

For these reasons, no clear distinction can be drawn between relief and non-relief types. In general, the characteristics of the families on relief were those of the socio-economic classes to which they belonged, and they differed from the characteristics of the non-relief families largely in proportion as the latter represented other classes. Within a given class, the families on relief tended to be those who had lost employment or had lost it earliest, and the marginal producers whose income stopped first. Of these latter families, those with the scantiest

reserves and those handicapped by the largest number of dependents, or in other ways, appeared on relief before the others. There is nothing in the data to suggest that a significant proportion of families received relief before their circumstances made it necessary.

There may have been average differences between the families on relief and those not on relief which this study did not measure, e.g., differences in thrift or in intelligence. In the absence of information, such questions lend themselves only to speculation and emotional thinking. In comparison with the objective socio-economic forces discussed above, they would seem at most to be supplementary. The evidence from the present study is quite clear that the rural families on emergency relief were primarily the victims of a vast, unplanned economic structure and its latest "fault."

# A Registration System as a Source of Data Concerning Internal Migration

*Conrad Taeuber*

STUDENTS of internal migration in this country are continually handicapped by the lack of materials which deal directly with either migration or migrants. Immigration and emigration regulations provide records of all persons crossing national boundaries and thus yield direct observations of the movements as well as the persons making them. Within the United States, movement from one state to another proceeds entirely unhampered by immigration or emigration regulations, except in the isolated instances in which state, county, or municipal police have established themselves at the boundary lines in an effort to prevent "undesirables" from entering their territory and have escorted persons to the border with the invitation not to return. Some analyses can be and have been made of transients residing temporarily in transient camps, but such persons include only a small proportion of those involved in internal migrations during any given period.

Except for localized studies of internal migrations, the chief source for analysis in this country has been the data provided by the census through its comparison of place of birth and place of residence at the time of enumeration. The studies of Population Redistribution, under the direction of Carter Goodrich, have recently demonstrated the possibilities and limitations of such data.<sup>1</sup> The collaborators in this project analyzed these materials with admirable thoroughness and attempted

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<sup>1</sup> See especially C. Warren Thornthwaite, *Internal Migration in the United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1934).



to extract from them every inference which was logically justified and of value. No matter how ably they are analyzed, such statistics can yield information concerning only the net result of many migrations; they cannot reveal fully the continual exchange of persons which is behind this net result. A person living in the state of his birth at the time of the enumeration is counted as a person who has not moved, even though he may have spent the major portion of his life in some other state or states. No record of movements within the state is secured. Tables comparing county of birth and county of residence, if feasible, would meet this objection only in part, for they would be limited to comparisons of residence at two points in time. Data to study the processes of internal migration in detail, or to secure an adequate description of the persons involved in the migrations, can be secured only by direct observations of migrants and migrations.

#### THE GERMAN "MELDEWESEN"

Much more detailed information is available in those countries in which the movements of all individuals are a matter of record. In Germany, for example, the authorities attempt to keep a current record of the whereabouts of each individual. Each municipality has some provisions for recording the movements of persons moving into or out of its borders, residents changing their addresses within the municipality, and transients. The discussion which follows is concerned with persons who moved into or out of a municipality with the intention of changing their place of abode, and, therefore, excludes tourists and persons who moved about only within the municipality. It does include some persons who remained in the area for only a short time, i.e., persons who came with the expectation of securing employment and who left again after a temporary period.

Persons moving into a municipality normally are required to register with the police within a few days after their arrival, filling out a prescribed form which shows: (1) date of moving into the municipality; (2) address within it; (3) surname and Christian name of the head of the household and of all members of the household; (4) date

of birth; (5) place of birth; (6) marital status; (7) occupation and industry; (8) citizenship; (9) religious affiliation; (10) last place of residence; and (11) period of last residence within the municipality, if any. Persons leaving the municipality are required to fill out a similar blank, including intended place of residence instead of last previous residence. Registration of incoming migrants in most areas is nearly complete, but the registration of persons leaving an area normally falls short of that standard. For administrative purposes the registration of migrants into the area is much more important than the registration of migrants away from it, and, obviously, it is difficult to enforce a regulation when the person to whom it applies is no longer within the jurisdiction of the competent administrative officials.

The entire system was designed for administrative purposes, and all reports are made to the police. Where municipal statistical bureaus exist, the registration blanks are transmitted to them for tabulation and such analyses as may be deemed desirable. The major statistical use of these data has been in connection with current estimates of population for intercensal years. If the registration of births, deaths, and migrations is accurate, the population of an area may be computed at any time. The failure to enforce the regulation concerning registration at time of leaving as completely as that requiring registration at time of entering introduces a source of error, which has received some study by the bureaus themselves. The most common method of correcting for underregistration of outgoing migrants is to compute the change in population for a completed intercensal period. Since the number of births, deaths, and incoming migrants is known, it is an easy matter to compute the actual number of outgoing migrants. By comparing the result with the reported number, the proportionate amount of underregistration may be secured. The resulting correction factor is then applied to the years following the last census enumeration. Obviously, the factor as thus computed varies from place to place and from time to time. For the city of Kiel during the years 1927 to 1929, it is estimated that the number failing to report at time of leaving is equal to eight per cent of those who do make such reports.

## MIGRANTS TO AND FROM A GERMAN CITY

The data presented below are compiled from the *Statistische Monatsberichte der Stadt Kiel* for 1929. Separate analysis of the data for 1927 and 1928 yielded essentially similar results. Although similar data are available for other German cities and for other years, the monthly reports from Kiel for the years 1927 to 1929 are the most detailed data which have become available to the author. Hence, they are presented as illustrative of the data available; the conclusions based on their analyses have been found to apply to other German cities as well.<sup>2</sup>

Table I shows the number of migrants to and from Kiel during 1929, classified by industrial groups and social classes. If the correction of eight per cent, mentioned previously, is applied to the number reported as moving out of the city during 1929, it appears that 27,314 persons moved out of the city. Since 24,995 persons moved into the city during that year, the excess of outgoing migrants amounted to 2,319 persons.

It is clear that this excess of outgoing migrants alone does not adequately portray the currents of migration into and away from the city during the year, for here the excess of 2,300 outgoing migrants is the result of 52,300 migrations. The loss by migration is equal to only four per cent of the total number of migrations involved. Ravenstein's theory of the approximately compensating countercurrent of migration clearly applies in this case. Data from 30 other large German cities, for the years 1900 to 1929, indicate that the ratio of outgoing to incoming migrants was approximately as 97 to 100, and that the gain by migration in these cities was equal to nearly six per cent of the total number of migrations reported.

The distinction between migrants and migrations made here is important, for obviously it would be incorrect to assert that the gain by migration mentioned above amounts to six per cent of all migrants into

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed presentation see Conrad Taeuber, "Migration to and from Selected German Cities . . . An Analysis of the Data of the Official Registration System, (Meldewesen) 1900-1929," unpublished Ph.D. thesis on file in the Library of the University of Minnesota. A brief abstract of this was published in *Proceedings of the International Congress for Studies on Population*, IX (Rome, 1931), 469-483.

or away from the city. As has been pointed out, there undoubtedly is considerable duplication of personnel in the incoming and outgoing migratory streams. In the case of Kiel, the extent of the duplication may be found only indirectly. More than 90 per cent of the persons who reported no occupation left during March and April or July and August, the months during which students leave the university for their vacations. There is also a seasonal movement of unskilled laborers and

TABLE I  
INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL CLASSIFICATION OF PERSONS MOVING INTO  
AND OUT OF KIEL, 1929\*

<i>Industrial Group or Social Class</i>	<i>Moving Into Kiel</i>		<i>Moving Out of Kiel†</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
A. Agriculture.....	713	2.9	748	3.0
B. Industry.....	4169	16.7	4461	17.6
C. Trade and Transportation.....	3600	14.4	3760	14.9
D. Government Service.....	1909	7.6	1981	7.8
E. Health, Hygiene and Social Service.....	736	2.9	785	3.1
F. Domestic Service and Day Labor..	6523	26.1	5856	23.1
Persons Reporting an Occupation..	17650	70.6	17591	69.5
G. No Occupation‡.....	3516	14.1	4669	18.5
Dependents.....	3829	15.3	3031	12.0
Total.....	24995	100.0	25291	100.0
Persons Reporting an Occupation. ....	17650	100.0	17591	100.0
a. Proprietors, Managers and Officials.....	137	0.8	266	1.5
b. Salaried Workers.....	4466	25.3	5066	28.8
c. Laborers.....	8100	45.9	7823	44.5
d. Domestic Servants.....	4947	28.0	4436	25.2

\* Compiled from *Statistische Monatsberichte der Stadt Kiel*, Vol. XXI, Nos. 1-12, 1929.

† As reported—the number leaving is estimated to be eight per cent greater than the number reported. If it is assumed that eight per cent applies to each of the groups shown, the percentages apply to the number actually leaving as well as to the number given above.

‡ Includes *rentiers*, persons in institutions, students, persons not living with their families though supported by them, and others who do not have a gainful occupation. Unemployed persons are classified according to their usual occupations.

domestic servants: a movement out of the city when there is a demand for agricultural labor, and a movement into the city when the demand for agricultural laborers has decreased. A tabulation for the city of Basel, Switzerland, for the years 1911 to 1926, shows that between 40 and 50 per cent of the persons leaving that city had lived there less than 12 months, and 25 to 35 per cent had lived there less than six months.<sup>3</sup> If it is assumed that similar conditions obtain among the migrants away from Kiel, and, therefore, that 50 per cent of the persons who moved into the city of Kiel left again within a year, it appears that nearly 40,000 persons were involved in the migratory movements. Even if every person who moved into the city during the year left again before the end of the year, the total number of persons involved in the movements into and out of Kiel was at least 25,000 during the one year. The net result of the movements into and out of the city is found to equal only a small fraction of the total number of movements or the total number of persons involved. This statement applies to occupational groups which normally show a high degree of residential mobility and to those which normally show a low degree of residential mobility, as may be seen from Table I.

Table II shows the distribution of migrants into Kiel by industrial group and social class according to the place from which they came. Occupations are classified in accordance with the practice of the German census. The geographical divisions are based on those used by the municipal Statistical Bureau of Kiel in its published reports. The first three divisions shown in the table correspond in general to distance zones—the "Remainder of Schleswig Holstein" being farther away from Kiel than the "Immediate Vicinity," and most of the "Remainder of Prussia" being farther away than any point in Schleswig Holstein. The other categories, however, are not entirely distance categories; even "Foreign Countries" may involve less distance than "Remainder of Prussia."

These data agree with those of most other studies in showing a

<sup>3</sup> Compiled from *Statistisches Jahrbuch des Kantons Basel-Stadt*, Volumes I, 1921; IV, 1924; and VI, 1926.

TABLE II  
 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS INTO KIEL DURING 1929 CLASSIFIED BY INDUSTRIAL GROUP AND SOCIAL CLASS  
 AND ACCORDING TO THE PLACE FROM WHICH THEY CAME\*

<i>Industrial Group or Social Class</i>	<i>Immediate Vicinity</i>	<i>Remainder of Schleswig Holstein</i>	<i>Remainder of Prussia</i>	<i>Prussia Total</i>	<i>Remainder of Germany</i>	<i>Germany Total</i>	<i>Foreign Countries</i>	<i>Grand Total†</i>
A. Agriculture.....	42.9	22.4	22.0	87.3	10.2	97.5	2.5	100.0
B. Industry.....	18.7	18.7	25.2	62.6	24.4	87.0	13.0	100.0
C. Trade and Transportation.....	16.8	18.7	21.5	57.0	25.3	82.3	17.7	100.0
D. Government Service.....	13.0	24.4	38.1	75.5	21.0	96.5	3.5	100.0
E. Health, Hygiene and Social Service	15.5	26.5	27.9	69.9	25.3	95.2	4.8	100.0
F. Domestic Service and Day Labor.	39.5	27.1	13.5	80.1	17.8	97.9	2.1	100.0
Persons Reporting an Occupation.	26.8	23.2	21.4	71.4	21.0	92.4	7.6	100.0
G. No Occupation.....	10.1	15.5	42.7	68.3	24.4	92.7	7.3	100.0
Dependents.....	29.9	20.6	26.9	77.4	15.6	93.0	7.0	100.0
Total.....	24.8	21.6	25.5	71.9	20.6	92.5	7.5	100.0
Persons Reporting an Occupation								
a. Proprietors, Managers and Officials.	28.8	16.8	20.8	66.4	30.4	96.8	3.2	100.0
b. Salaried Workers.....	13.6	21.5	33.5	68.6	25.0	93.6	6.4	100.0
c. Laborers.....	26.4	21.3	19.4	67.1	20.4	87.5	12.5	100.0
d. Domestic Servants.....	38.9	27.5	13.6	80.0	18.0	98.0	2.0	100.0

\* Compiled from *Statistische Monatsberichte der Stadt Kiel*, Vol. XXI, Nos. 1-12, 1929.

† Excludes persons who failed to report the place from which they came.

preponderance of short-distance migrants. Twenty-five per cent of the incoming migrants were reported as coming from the area which the municipal statistical bureau describes as "Immediate Vicinity," and an additional 22 per cent come from the remainder of Schleswig Holstein.

Table II shows also that the proportion of short-distance migrants is greatest for persons engaged in agriculture and domestic service and lowest for persons in the Government Service and those reporting no occupation. These differences are clearer when the social classes shown in the table are compared.

These social classes may be combined into two groups: those requiring, on an average, relatively little ability and training (domestic service and laborers), and those requiring greater ability and more training (proprietors, managers, officials, professional persons and salaried workers). It is clear from Table II that the workers in the groups requiring less ability and training migrated shorter distances than those in the other groups. The proportion of short-distance migrants, among those coming into or leaving the city, was greater for domestic servants and laborers than for salaried workers. The relatively large proportion of proprietors, managers, and officials from the immediate vicinity is due to the larger proportion of proprietors among persons engaged in agriculture. These persons traveled only short distances into or away from the large cities.

The principle of the predominance of short-distance migration applies to all groups within the national boundaries and also to the group that comes from areas outside the national boundaries, but these boundaries constitute considerable handicaps to migration. Since Kiel is situated very near the border, the proportion of migrants reported from foreign countries is not surprising. That it should be higher for laborers than for any other group is probably due to the fact that qualifications for unskilled laborers are less affected by national boundaries and national customs than are those for the preferred occupations, such as the professions, managerial and governmental positions. Apparently, this does not apply to domestic service, for that group shows the lowest propor-

tion of persons from foreign countries. However, women predominated among domestic service, and women migrants traveled shorter distances than men. The ratio of men to women among all incoming migrants tended to increase with the distance to the place from which the migrants had come. Male migrants away from the city traveled greater distances than the female migrants.

The greater predominance of short-distance migrants among the less well-trained groups is probably due to a number of factors. Many of these persons are making the transition from agricultural to nonagricultural employment coincident with the move into the city, and, since they lack any other specialized training, they are eligible for employment only as unskilled laborers. Lacking specialized skills and contacts at the place where they are seeking employment, they wander not so much toward a specific job as toward a place at which it is hoped a job will be found. Professional and technical workers, as well as white-collar workers generally, have a wider range of contacts, and highly skilled workers must operate within a larger geographic area in order to find opportunities to employ their skills. Whether or not a similar selective process would apply among the members of each of the occupational groups or social classes used here cannot be stated. A number of the professional and technical workers are employees of large centralized organizations, such as the government, the postal service, the railway service, large corporations, etc. The movements of these persons are usually limited only by the area served by the organization, and transfers are likely to be without regard to distance.

It is well known that migrants are recruited primarily among the young unmarried adults and that persons with dependents are normally infrequent among migrants. Table I shows that dependents constituted only one-seventh of the migrants into the city and one-eighth of those leaving the city. Table II shows further that the percentage of short-distance migrants is greater among dependents than among persons reporting an occupation, except domestic servants. Hesitation to incur the risks of long distance migration, unless there is an assured position



at the destination, and the lack of such assurance for the majority of the migrants are among the factors responsible for this situation.

For reasons similar to those mentioned for the occupational groups, wealthy persons are relatively infrequent among the migrants into the city, but, among those who do come, long-distance migrants are more numerous than among other groups. Fragmentary data from Kiel, for the years 1908 to 1918, indicate that persons with incomes of 3,000 marks per year or more show a smaller proportion of short-distance migrants than do all adult migrants into the city. It was not possible to determine whether the proportion of short-distance migrants decreased with an increase in income, of vice versa, for the data were available only for persons with an income above or below 3,000 marks, the minimum upon which income taxes were levied at that time.

As was seen in Table I, the occupational composition of the migrants away from a large city varies only slightly from that of the migrants into that city. Although the city serves as the training station for some of the skilled occupations and the professions and sends out more persons in these groups than it receives, there is little difference between the two streams of migration. Similarly, when migrants to and from a large city are classified according to the place from which they came or to which they went, little difference is found between the proportions coming from a particular area and those going to it. It was not possible to determine to what extent originally urban-bound migrants later returned to the places from which they came, or to what extent there was a displacement of persons previously residing in the city by recent migrants into the city.

The similarity of the distributions of migrants according to geographic origin and destination suggests the possibility that the predominance of short-distance migrants among the least qualified occupational groups may be based on a greater amount of duplication among these persons. These occupational groups include seasonal workers who alternate between urban and rural employment, and generally those groups in which tenure of position is relatively short. Although it is

impossible to determine definitely the effect of such duplicated cases on the relationships found, there is no evidence that the duplication involved is sufficiently great to invalidate the conclusions represented.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A system of continuous registration of the population provides direct observations of migrations and migrants. Although such data have been collected in Germany for more than 60 years, and although as early as 1886 Karl Bücher called attention to the data and suggested the desirability of an analysis, very little has been done with them. The data analyzed here deal only with the city of Kiel, and are intended to illustrate the type of information available. Analyses of data based on observations of net results of migratory movements deal with only a small fraction of the migrations or migrants involved. Short-distance migration predominated among persons moving into the city as well as persons moving out of the city. However, the least trained occupational groups (laborers and domestic servants) came from short distances more frequently than the more highly trained occupational groups, and skilled workers traveled greater distances than unskilled workers. Similarly, persons with large incomes were infrequent among the migrants into the city, but came from greater distances than persons with smaller incomes. Numerically, the migration out of the city was largely a counterpart of the migration into it, and the occupational and geographical distributions of migrants out of the city paralleled closely those of the migrants into the city.

# The Trend of the Marriage Rate in Rural North Carolina

*C. Horace Hamilton*

## METHOD

THE TREND in the marriage rate of a given population may be determined from a simple population census. Two basic items of information are needed: namely, *year of birth* and *year of first marriage*. Supplementary information regarding sex, color, race, tenure status, occupation, relief status, etc., may be used for analyzing differential marriage rates and trends. In the many rural surveys that have been made during the past few years, it is to be regretted that studies of trends in marriage rates, as well as other population trends, have been neglected. From the data showing year of birth and year of marriage, it is merely a matter of tabulation to determine: (1) the number of single persons of a specific age at the beginning of a given year, and (2) the number of such persons marrying during the given year. Letting P represent the single population and M the number of marriages, the annual marriage rate, R, may be determined from the following formula:

$$R = \frac{M}{P} \times 100$$

This formula may be applied to any specific age, sex, color, or occupational group or to an undifferentiated group.<sup>1</sup>

C. Horace Hamilton contributed this paper to *Rural Sociology* while he was rural sociologist at the North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station. He is now economist in rural life problems at the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station. This paper is a contribution from the North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station and is published with the approval of the Director as Paper Number 88 of the Journal Series.

<sup>1</sup> The mechanics of tabulation involved in this type of study have been described and illustrated in "The Annual Rate of Departure of Rural Youths from Their Parental Homes," *Rural Sociology* (June, 1936).

## THE AGE FACTOR

In the analysis of marriage rate trends, careful attention must be given to the age factor. The same age-range must be used in calculations for all years, and any significant variation in age distribution within the age-range should be eliminated by adjustment or standardization. In other words, the marriage rate of a group of people aged 15 to 29 years in 1934 may be compared correctly only with the marriage rate of the group of people who were from 15 to 29 years of age in 1933, 1932, 1931, and so on. Thus it will be seen that there will be considerable overlapping in age groups from year to year. As a group of young people are carried along from year to year in these calculations, the age-range is held constant by dropping persons at the top of the age-range and by adding persons at the bottom.

In this type of study, the age distribution within the age group from 15 to 29 years varies only slightly from year to year. It was found unnecessary to make further adjustments for age, i.e., to calculate weighted averages of specific single-year rates.<sup>2</sup> In this paper the 15- to 29-year age group has been used as a basis for calculating marriage rates.

## DATA AND SAMPLING

The data on which this paper is based were taken from a study of 1,703 families located in open-country areas of five North Carolina counties: Elevation Township, Johnston County; Red Springs Township, Robeson County; Beaver Dam Township, Richmond County; Colfax Township, Rutherford County; and Pelham Township, Caswell County.<sup>3</sup> From three to five hundred households were surveyed in each area. About one-half of the households were in the two Piedmont areas and the other half in the three Coastal Plain areas. The particular

<sup>2</sup> The differences between the adjusted rates and the crude rates were found to be less than the standard errors of the crude rates.

<sup>3</sup> This study was made in 1935 by the division of rural sociology of the Agricultural Experiment Station in co-operation with the North Carolina E.R.A. and the Division of Social Research of the F.E.R.A. (now the W.P.A.).

areas surveyed were selected because they were fairly representative of the predominating types of agriculture in the major areas of the state. Caswell County is located in the old tobacco belt; Rutherford County, in the Piedmont cotton area; and Robeson, Richmond, and Johnston counties are in the Coastal Plain area. It cannot be said that the sample is representative of North Carolina or of the Piedmont and Coastal Plain regions. It is very likely, however, that the sample is representative of a relatively large area adjacent to the areas studied and of an indefinite nonadjacent area which is similar in agriculture and population.

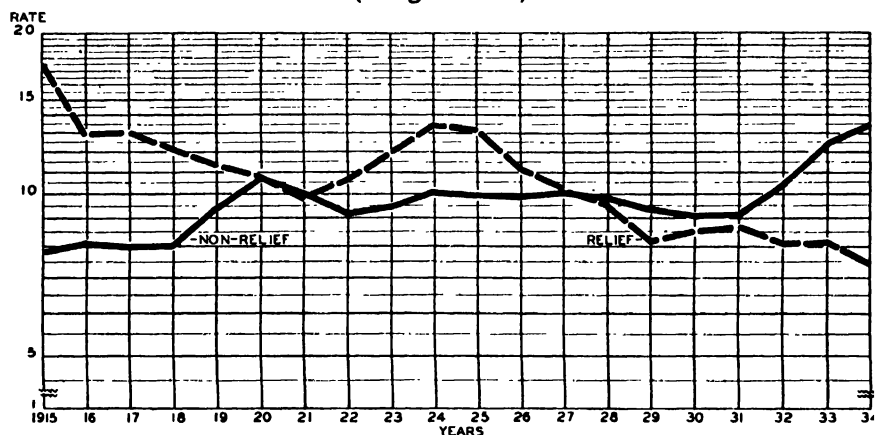
The interpretation to be given the results of this investigation is further conditioned by two other factors: (1) the sample does not represent the area studied for years previous to the current year, because of the gradual change in the character of the population due to death and migration; (2) offspring not now living with the families studied were included in the analysis of marriage rates. The inclusion of offspring who have migrated from their parental homes partially counterbalances the migration factor; and, in addition, it makes the study somewhat more representative of surrounding areas to which most of these offspring have migrated. Not over one-third of these offspring are found in urban centers. Even so, the marriage rate of these urban offspring is, no doubt, somewhat conditioned by the rural *milieu* from which they came. Furthermore, it is a well-known fact that the open-country population of North Carolina is not very mobile. When whole families migrate in rural North Carolina, only short distances are usually involved.<sup>4</sup>

The failure to include persons who died previous to the time of the survey, but who might have married during the period of time under investigation, probably has little bearing on the final results. In this study no attempt was made to determine marriage rates before 1915 or for persons over 30 years of age, which means that no persons over 50 years of age in 1934 are included in the tabulations.

<sup>4</sup> The mobility of the families used in this study has been analyzed and will be presented in a forthcoming bulletin of the North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station.

CHART 1

MARRIAGE RATE TRENDS BY RELIEF STATUS 1934—3-YEAR MOVING AVERAGE  
(Weights 1-2-1)



The marriage rate of the relief population (of 1934) was significantly lower than the marriage rate of the nonrelief population from 1932 to 1934. The difference is enough to offset the higher birth rates found among married women of the relief group.

### MARRIAGE AND RELIEF STATUS

During the depression years of 1932 to 1934, inclusive, in the five counties surveyed, the marriage rate of the relief population was significantly and substantially below that of the nonrelief population.<sup>5</sup> Over a long period of time, however, there is no significant difference between the mean marriage rates of the relief and nonrelief population. A study of Table I, which shows the unsmoothed rates by periods and single years, and of Chart 1, which presents the smoothed annual rates,<sup>6</sup> shows that there were three periods during the past 20 years when there were significant differences between the marriage rates of the relief and nonrelief populations. (Columns 6 and 7 of Table I present the actual differences and standard errors of the differences.)<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> For the purposes of this paper, the relief population includes members of households on public relief rolls at any time from April 1, 1934, to April 1, 1935, as well as the off-spring of parents living in such households.

<sup>6</sup> As there is very little correlation between the relief and nonrelief marriage rates, the following formula was used for calculating standard errors of difference:

$$\sigma = \sqrt{\sigma_x^2 + \sigma_y^2}$$

<sup>7</sup> A three-year moving average was used for smoothing these curves. In this moving average the middle year was given a weight of 2 and the adjacent years 1 each.

During the period from 1915 to 1919 the marriage rate of the relief population (on relief in 1934) was 13.0 per 100, as compared with a

TABLE I

MARRIAGE RATE TRENDS, BY RELIEF STATUS IN 1934, SHOWING DIFFERENCES AND STANDARD ERRORS

Year and Period	Number of Single Persons Aged 15-29. Jan. 1 of Given Year		Marriage Rates*		Difference	Standard Error of Difference
	Relief	Non-Relief	Relief	Non-Relief		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
All Years	5,031	28,309	10.3	9.8	— .5	.5
1930-1934	1,788	8,597	8.4	10.9	2.5	.7
1925-1929	1,351	7,879	10.1	9.6	— .5	.9
1920-1924	980	6,534	11.5	10.1	—1.4	1.1
1915-1919	912	5,299	13.0	8.1	—4.9	1.2
1934	391	1,643	7.4	13.4	6.0	1.6
1933	371	1,742	9.2	13.3	4.1	1.7
1932	350	1,764	6.9	10.1	3.2	1.5
1931	348	1,739	9.5	8.2	—1.3	1.7
1930	328	1,709	9.1	9.8	.7	1.7
1929	239	1,661	6.4	8.7	2.3	1.6
1928	285	1,617	10.9	10.1	— .8	2.0
1927	272	1,590	9.9	9.9	.0	2.0
1926	254	1,531	10.2	10.0	— .2	2.0
1925	241	1,480	14.1	9.2	—4.9	2.4
1924	220	1,431	14.5	11.1	—3.4	2.5
1923	201	1,344	10.4	8.5	—1.9	2.3
1922	200	1,286	12.5	9.7	—2.8	2.5
1921	181	1,231	7.2	8.7	1.5	2.1
1920	178	1,242	12.4	13.0	.6	2.6
1919	180	1,173	11.1	8.1	—3.0	2.5
1918	169	1,111	10.7	8.3	—2.4	2.5
1917	186	1,045	16.1	7.5	—8.6	2.8
1916	176	996	9.1	8.7	— .4	2.3
1915	201	974	17.4	7.7	—9.7	2.8

\* The marriage rate equals: the ratio of the number of marriages during a given year to the number of single persons at beginning of given year, times 100.

nonrelief rate of only 8.1. The difference of 4.9 is approximately four times its standard error of 1.2. Again, beginning with 1922 there is a five-year period during which the marriage rate of the relief population was significantly higher than that of the nonrelief population. Finally, in the period from 1932 to 1934 marriage rates of the relief population were significantly below those of the nonrelief population.<sup>8</sup>

A correct interpretation of the results just described is not a simple matter. It is a known fact, for instance, that the number and age of the children were significant factors in the selection of relief families. From one point of view, therefore, these results might be passed over lightly as merely a coincidence owing to selection of relief families. That is to say, "relief families are those which have an excessive number of children from five to ten years of age and, hence, families in which marriages would have occurred quite rapidly during the period centering on 1925 and 1926." If this be true, however, how can one explain the high marriage rates of the (1934) relief population between 1915 and 1920?

Our interpretation is further complicated by the fact that some relief families of 1934 were, perhaps, in comfortable economic circumstances in earlier years. However, a study of the farm-tenure status of relief families shows that, on the whole, they have spent much more of their lives in the lower social and economic classes than have the nonrelief families. In North Carolina it is a matter of frequent comment that Federal relief gave the poorer classes a chance, for the first time, to obtain public relief on a large scale—relief which was needed and would have been welcomed by most of them at any time in their careers.

There is, perhaps, an important relationship between economic status and marriage—a relationship which is entirely logical. In our study of departure rates of rural youths from their parental homes,<sup>9</sup> it was

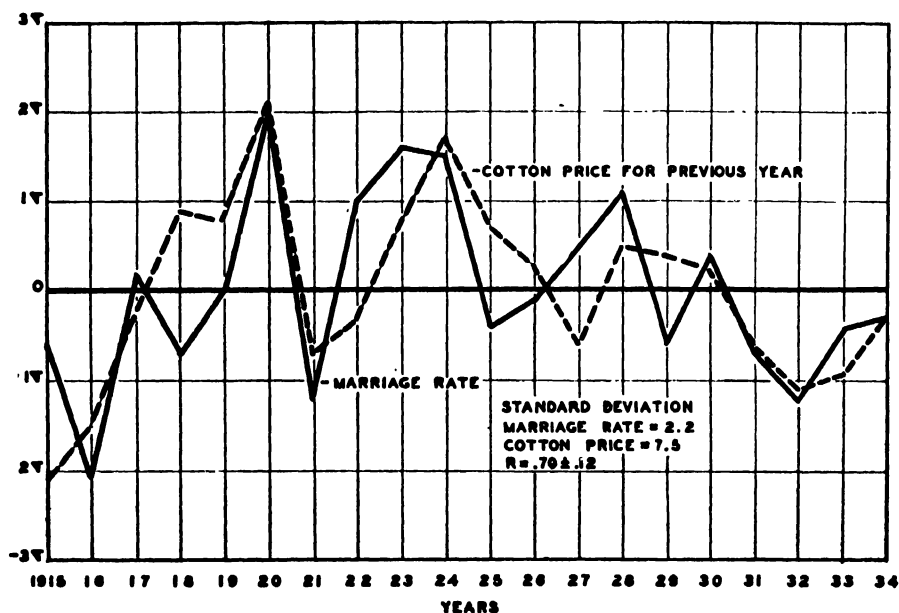
<sup>8</sup> A similar difference in relief and nonrelief marriage rates was found in a study of 625 families in Avery county, North Carolina, in 1935.

<sup>9</sup> C. Horace Hamilton, "The Annual Rate of Departure of Rural Youths from Their Parental Homes," *Rural Sociology*, I (1936), pp. 164-179.



found that children of relief families left home at a more rapid rate during "prosperous" years, and at a slower rate during "lean" years, than was true in the case of children from nonrelief families. Persons in the lower economic strata are the first to feel the pinch of a depression and are likely to respond most quickly to the stimulus of good times. Marriage, even for poor people, calls for a relatively large outlay of cash or credit. If cash is unobtainable and there is little hope for stable incomes, marriages are delayed. Then when work picks up and hope for better times appears, a large number of delayed marriages causes the marriage rates of the poorer groups to rebound strongly from their low levels. Among the nonrelief population, where incomes are higher and more secure, marriage rates are not so closely related to the business cycle. The same general principle is involved here as in differential standards of living, i.e., *standards of living of poor people*

CHART 2  
RELATION BETWEEN MARRIAGES AND COTTON PRICES—JOHNSTON  
AND ROBESON COUNTIES



This chart shows a very close correlation between marriage rates and cotton prices during the years 1915 to 1934. Cotton prices and correlated factors are responsible for approximately one-half of the variance of the marriage rate in these cotton growing areas.

are much more dependent on income than is the case of the well-to-do. This argument is strengthened further by evidence which follows.

### MARRIAGE AND COTTON PRICES

In two cotton counties, Johnston and Robeson, of the North Carolina Coastal Plain, there appears to be a highly significant correlation between marriage rates and cotton prices of the previous year.<sup>10</sup> Table II

TABLE II  
RELATION OF COTTON PRICES TO MARRIAGE RATES—JOHNSTON AND  
ROBESON COUNTIES, NORTH CAROLINA

Year	Price of Cotton in North Carolina the Previous Year  (Cents per lb.)	Marriage Rate (Per- centum)	Secular Trend		Deviation from Trend in Standard Units (Sigmas)	
			Cotton Price	Marriage Rate	Cotton Price	Marriage Rate
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1934	10.5	6.2	12.6	6.9	— .3	— .3
1933	6.1	6.1	13.1	7.0	— .9	— .4
1932	6.3	4.5	13.6	7.1	—1.0	—1.2
1931	9.9	5.8	14.2	7.2	— .6	— .7
1930	16.7	8.0	14.7	7.2	.3	.4
1929	18.5	6.0	15.3	7.3	.4	— .6
1928	19.5	9.8	15.8	7.4	.5	1.1
1927	11.5	8.6	16.3	7.5	— .6	.5
1926	19.0	7.3	16.9	7.5	.3	— .1
1925	22.6	6.8	17.4	7.6	.7	— .4
1924	30.8	10.9	18.0	7.7	1.7	1.5
1923	24.5	11.3	18.5	7.8	.8	1.6
1922	16.4	10.0	19.0	7.9	— .4	1.0
1921	14.5	5.4	19.6	7.9	— .7	—1.2
1920	35.2	12.3	20.1	8.0	2.0	2.0
1919	26.4	8.0	20.7	8.1	.8	— .0
1918	27.7	6.7	21.2	8.2	.9	— .7
1917	19.4	8.6	21.7	8.2	— .3	.2
1916	11.2	3.8	22.3	8.3	—1.5	—2.1
1915	6.9	7.2	22.8	8.4	—2.0	— .6

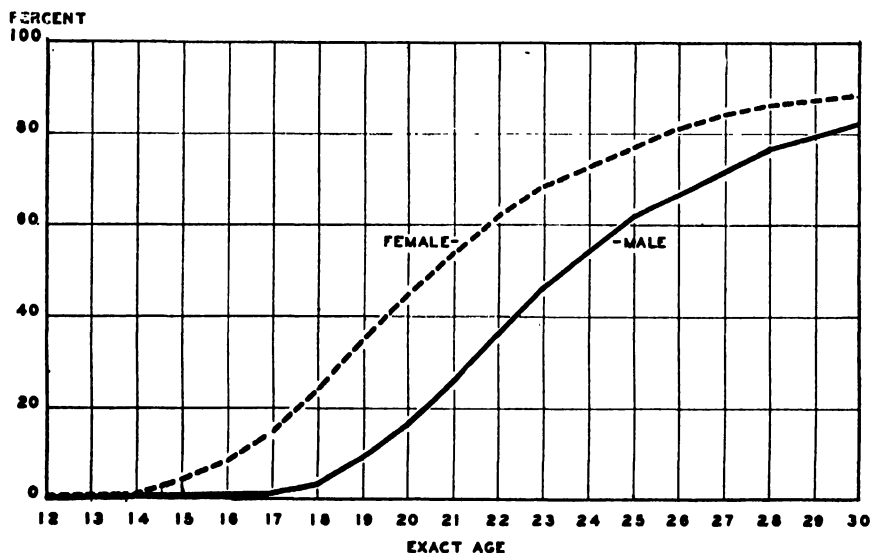
\* The price of cotton shown opposite 1934 represents the price of cotton in 1933, and so on.

<sup>10</sup> A similar correlation appeared between departure rates and cotton prices. *Ibid.*

and Chart 2 illustrate this correlation, the secular trend being eliminated from both variables. The coefficient of correlation was found to be  $+ .70 \pm .12$ , a value which is obviously quite significant. In making this correlation the actual unadjusted and unsmoothed marriage rates were used. The price-of-cotton series used was the average local prices of cotton in North Carolina, as reported by the North Carolina Department of Agriculture.

This correlation further demonstrates the relationship between economic status and the marriage rate. When cotton prices are low in one year, the marriage rate is low the following year. Young farm people, two-thirds of whom remain on farms, respond to the pressure of economic circumstances in much the same way as their city cousins. It requires money to get married, purchase furniture, buy work stock and tools, as well as to begin buying a home. In times of poor prices farm youths delay marriage and the beginning of their careers. When recovery sets in, the marriage rate for rural youths responds very quickly

CHART 3  
MEAN PER CENT MARRIED PERSONS BY AGE—EXPERIENCE 1915-1934



This chart shows the expectancy rates for marriage by sex, based on the mean of the marriage rates which prevailed from 1915 to 1934. At all ages, females marry approximately three years earlier in life than males.

because of delayed marriages. Consequently, we find that the marriage rate of the nonrelief population rose substantially in 1933; whereas, the marriage rate of households (to be on relief in 1934) continued to decline.

### AGE, COLOR, AND SEX DIFFERENCE IN MARRIAGE

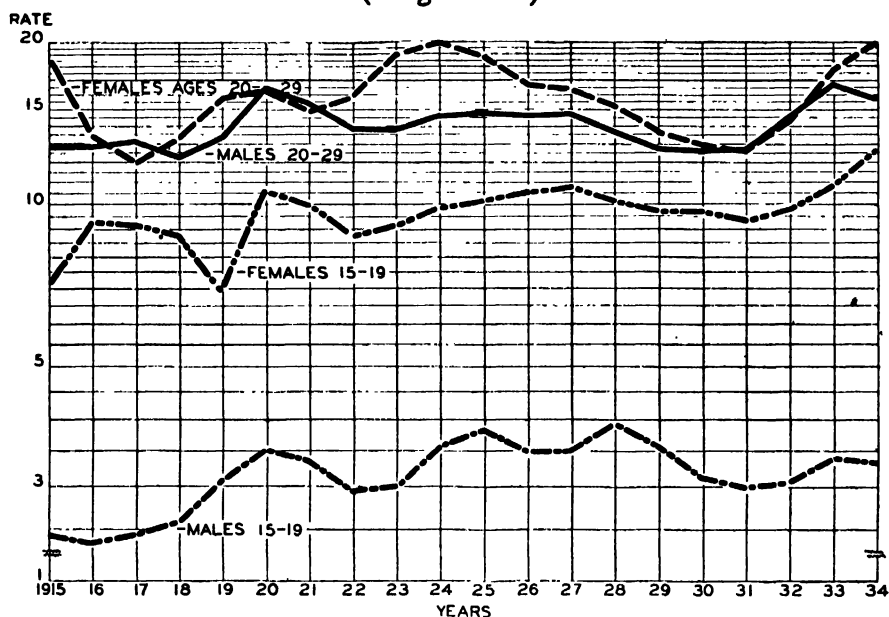
Females marry approximately three years earlier in life than males. Such was found to be the case among rural youths and offspring of rural families in this study. Chart 3 and Table III illustrate this fact.

TABLE III  
MEAN MARRIAGE RATES, FROM 1915 TO 1934, OF POPULATION, BY SINGLE YEARS OF AGE FROM 12 TO 29, AND BY SEX

Age	Mean Annual Marriage Rate		Expected* Per cent Married at End of Year	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
12	.1	.5	.1	.5
13	.0	.8	.1	1.3
14	.0	2.3	.1	3.6
15	.3	4.5	.4	7.9
16	.9	7.8	1.3	15.1
17	2.2	10.3	3.5	23.8
18	5.7	14.9	9.0	35.2
19	8.0	15.1	16.3	45.0
20	11.1	16.2	25.6	53.9
21	13.4	16.6	35.6	61.6
22	16.9	18.1	46.5	68.6
23	15.0	15.3	54.5	73.4
24	16.2	14.8	61.9	77.3
25	13.4	16.3	67.0	81.0
26	15.2	15.7	72.0	84.0
27	15.2	11.2	76.3	85.8
28	12.4	12.4	79.7	87.6
29	14.2	9.3	82.8	88.5

\* Columns (4) and (5) indicate the percentages of persons who would be married at the end of a given year if they married at the average rates shown in columns (2) and (3) from 12 years of age to any given year.

CHART 4  
MARRIAGE RATE TRENDS BY AGE AND SEX—3-YEAR MOVING AVERAGE  
(Weights 1-2-1)



Older males and females marry at more nearly the same rates than do younger males and females. Apparently there is very little difference between the older and younger groups in the *rapidity of change* in the marriage rates.

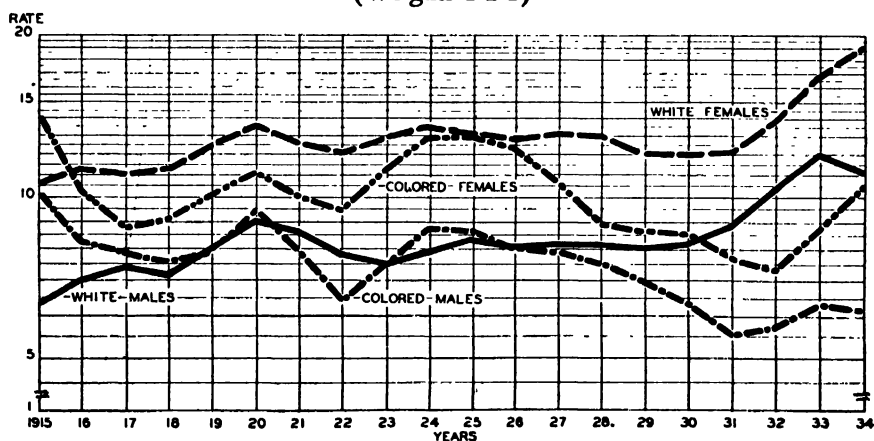
The chart is based on the average marriage rates of males and females over a 20-year period. Since there appears to be no significant secular trend in marriage rates during this period, the averages of the rates shown on this chart may be taken to present a "normal" situation. In 1934, however, the percentages of males and females who were married was slightly higher than normal because of the high marriage rates during 1933 and 1934.<sup>11</sup> The three-year difference in the age at marriage of males and females prevails at practically every age-level from 12 years of age to above 30 years. The marriage ratio of 35 per cent falls

<sup>11</sup> Incidentally, the ratio of married persons reported by each decennial census is quite dependent upon the marriage rates during the immediately preceding year or two. Inferences, therefore, as to trends in marriage, based on the *U.S. Census Reports*, are to be considered in the light of general economic and business conditions just prior to the taking of the Census. In this connection, see W. F. Ogburn, "Recent Changes in Marriage," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLI (1935), 285-298.

almost exactly at 19 years of age for females and 22 years of age for males. At 21 years of age 62 per cent of the females are married, but not until the exact age 24 are 62 per cent of the males married.

The time factor is introduced in Table IV and Chart 4 to show the relationship between age and sex in marriage. Attention is called to the following points illustrated in Chart 4, which is on a semilogarithmic scale:<sup>12</sup> (1) There is no significant secular trend in the rate curves for any of the sex and age groups. (2) Older males (from 20 to 29) marry at more nearly the same rate as females than is the case with younger males and females. (3) There is no significant or uniform difference in the paces at which the various marriage rates change from year to year. However, it is interesting to note that in 1933 and 1934 the marriage rate of females rose slightly more rapidly than did the corresponding rate for males. As a matter of fact, the marriage rate

CHART 5  
MARRIAGE RATE TRENDS BY COLOR AND SEX—3-YEAR MOVING AVERAGE  
(Weights 1-2-1)



In recent years the marriage rates of colored males and females have dropped significantly lower than the marriage rates of white males and females. However, since 1932 rates of all sex and color groups have tended upward, those for the white and colored females rising with approximately the same rapidity.

<sup>12</sup> The chart shows a three-year moving average of marriage rates for each sex and age group, with the exception of the rates for 1915 and 1934, years for which it was impossible to calculate moving averages. In the calculation of these moving averages the central year was given a weight of .5 and the adjacent years .25 each.

in 1934 for males of both age groups (15 to 19 and 20 to 29) dropped under the moving-average rate of 1933.

The trend in marriage rates by color and sex are shown in Table V and Chart 5. There appears to be no definite secular trend in these

TABLE IV  
MARRIAGE RATE TRENDS BY AGE AND SEX, 1915 TO 1934\*

Year	Age 15 to 19 Years			Age 20 to 29 Years		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
All Years	5.5	3.3	7.8	14.9	14.3	15.9
1934	6.9	3.0	11.0	17.6	15.8	19.8
1933	4.3	2.2	6.4	19.0	18.8	19.2
1932	5.1	2.8	7.3	13.5	13.9	12.9
1931	4.8	3.2	6.4	11.8	11.7	11.9
1930	7.2	4.8	9.5	13.4	13.4	13.4
1929	4.6	3.4	5.8	12.3	12.2	12.4
1928	5.9	4.0	7.8	14.4	13.5	16.0
1927	4.8	1.8	8.0	16.1	15.9	16.5
1926	7.1	3.5	10.8	14.8	13.8	16.6
1925	4.9	2.5	7.3	15.8	15.2	16.8
1924	7.2	5.1	9.4	19.0	15.2	25.1
1923	4.6	2.0	7.6	14.3	12.9	16.4
1922	5.0	4.2	6.0	15.8	14.5	17.9
1921	4.5	2.9	6.5	12.6	13.6	11.0
1920	7.0	3.6	11.2	20.0	20.4	19.1
1919	5.1	3.2	7.3	13.2	11.8	15.3
1918	6.9	6.1	7.7	12.1	11.6	12.9
1917	3.3	1.7	5.0	13.4	14.5	11.7
1916	5.8	3.8	8.2	11.8	12.1	11.3
1915	2.4	1.4	3.4	15.2	12.8	18.8

\* Standard errors, based on the mean rate for all years but the size of the sample for each individual year, range as follows:

	Age 15 to 19 Years			Age 20 to 29 Years		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1934	.7	.7	1.2	1.2	1.5	1.8
1915	.9	1.0	1.5	1.6	2.0	2.5

TABLE V

MARRIAGE RATES OF THE POPULATION FROM 15 TO 29 YEARS OF AGE, BY SEX  
AND COLOR, 1915 TO 1934\*

Year	Unsmoothed Crude Rates				Three Year, Moving-average Crude Rates			
	White		Colored		White		Colored	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
All Years	8.6	13.2	7.3	9.9	8.6	13.2	7.3	9.9
1934	11.1	19.2	6.2	10.5	.....	.....	.....	.....
1933	13.8	17.6	6.2	8.6	12.0	16.9	6.3	8.6
1932	9.4	13.4	6.5	6.7	10.3	13.9	5.7	7.3
1931	8.7	11.3	3.8	7.4	8.8	12.2	5.5	7.6
1930	8.3	13.0	7.8	8.9	8.2	12.0	6.3	8.5
1929	7.7	10.6	5.7	8.7	8.1	12.0	6.9	8.6
1928	8.6	14.0	8.6	8.3	8.2	13.0	7.5	8.9
1927	8.1	13.5	7.3	10.4	8.2	13.2	7.9	10.6
1926	7.9	12.0	8.5	13.4	8.1	12.3	8.0	12.3
1925	8.6	11.8	7.6	11.9	8.3	12.7	8.7	12.9
1924	8.0	15.3	11.0	14.5	7.9	13.5	8.9	12.9
1923	6.9	11.8	6.0	10.8	7.5	12.9	7.5	11.3
1922	8.2	12.9	7.2	9.0	7.8	12.1	6.4	9.4
1921	8.1	10.7	5.4	8.8	8.7	12.6	7.9	10.0
1920	10.4	16.2	13.5	13.3	9.1	13.6	9.4	11.1
1919	7.6	11.3	5.3	9.0	8.0	12.6	7.9	10.1
1918	6.5	11.8	7.4	9.5	7.2	11.3	7.6	9.0
1917	8.1	10.3	8.4	8.1	7.4	11.1	7.8	8.7
1916	6.9	12.1	7.1	9.3	7.0	11.3	8.2	10.2
1915	6.3	10.6	10.2	14.1	.....	.....	.....	.....

\* Standard errors of the unsmoothed rates, based on the mean rate for all years but on the size of the sample for each individual year, range as follows:

	1915	1934
White male.....	1.3	1.1
White female.....	1.8	1.4
Colored male.....	2.0	1.3
Colored female.....	2.2	1.5

The standard errors of the smoothed rates are, of course, somewhat lower because of the use of a rate base equal to about twice that for the unsmoothed rates.



rates. There is a definite rise in the marriage rates for all four groups in 1920, and a definite decline during the depression of 1921. Beginning as early as 1927, the marriage rates for Negroes, male and female, began to decline; whereas, the marriage rates for white persons changed very little. In fact, the marriage rate for white females, after dropping slightly in 1929, 1930, and 1931, increased rapidly in 1932 and 1933. The marriage rate for white males was most constant of all, but it followed the white-female rate upward in 1932 and 1933. The rate for Negro females rose some in 1933 and 1934 but not so much as that for white females. The marriage rate for Negro males dropped to less than six per cent during the depression and remained low in 1933 and 1934.

The percentages of the various sex and color groups who were married at the end of 1934 reflect the differences in marriage rates just cited. However, the Negro marriage rates may have been low in recent years because of the fact that a higher percentage of them have migrated to the city than is true of the white group. The migration factor is an important one here because migrant offspring have been included in calculating the marriage rates. Some light is thrown on the migration factor by Tables VI and VII, tabulations which show the percentages of the various sex and color groups which have migrated to the farm, town, and city and the percentages of the migrants in the various groups who were classed as single, i.e., unmarried. The data show that fewer Negroes above 15 years of age have left their parental homes, but that a larger percentage of those away from home are in the city than is true for the white groups. Also, the data show definitely that fewer city Negroes have married than have city whites. But it is to be noted also that fewer farm Negroes have married. The low marriage rates of Negro males and females, therefore, cannot be attributed entirely to migration.

#### MARRIAGE AND TENURE STATUS

In this section of the analysis, the population has been divided into two groups: (1) population from homes of farm *owners*, and

(2) population from homes of farm tenants, farm croppers, and farm laborers—hereafter referred to as *nonowners*. From Table VIII and Chart 4 it may be seen: (1) that the marriage rate of the population

TABLE VI

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF RURAL YOUNG PEOPLE ABOVE 15 YEARS OF AGE, BY SEX AND COLOR, WHO HAVE MIGRATED TO FARMS, TOWNS AND CITIES

Place of Residence	Number				Per Cent			
	White		Colored		White		Colored	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Total.....	1,200	1,200	582	661	100	100	100	100
At Home.....	550	433	283	296	36	46	49	45
Away from Home.....	650	767	299	365	100	100	100	100
On Farm.....	423	513	168	194	65	67	56	53
In Town.....	65	70	20	20	10	9	7	6
In City.....	162	184	111	151	25	24	37	41

TABLE VII

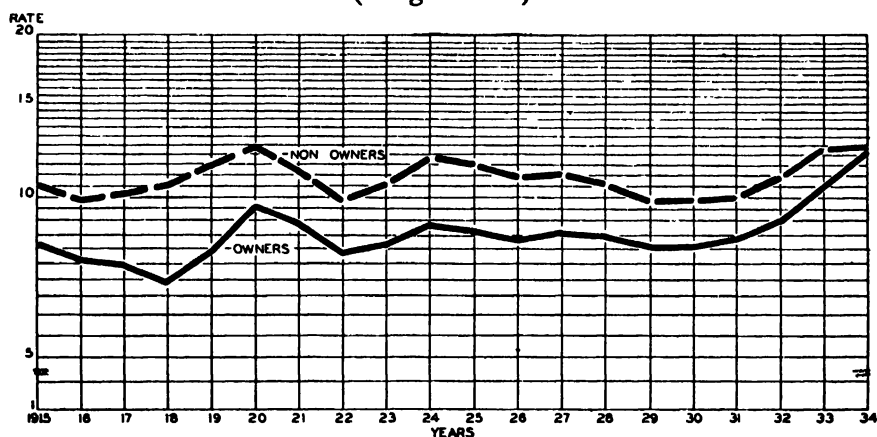
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF UNMARRIED YOUNG PEOPLE ABOVE 15 YEARS OF AGE, BY SEX, COLOR, AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE, IN OR FROM RURAL FAMILIES

Place of Residence	Total Number Single				Per Cent Single*			
	White		Colored		White		Colored	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Total.....	579	451	344	282	48	38	59	43
At Home.....	489	385	261	226	89	89	92	76
Away from Home.....	90	66	83	56	14	9	28	15
On Farm.....	43	18	34	20	10	4	20	10
In Town.....	13	10	6	3	20	14	30	15
In City.....	34	38	43	33	21	20	39	22

\* For the base of these percentages see the first four columns of Table VI.

in or from farm-owner families (as of 1934) is somewhat lower than that of the nonowner group; (2) that marriage rates of owner and nonowner groups are closely and positively correlated; and (3) that the rates for both groups have risen since 1931. In 1934, however, there was a slight recession in the marriage rate of the nonowner group. Interpretation of marriage trends by tenure status, however, is somewhat limited by the fact that families in a given tenure status in 1935 might have been in some other tenure group in previous years. Particu-

CHART 6  
MARRIAGE RATE TRENDS BY TENURE STATUS—3-YEAR MOVING AVERAGE\*  
(Weights 1-2-1)



Marriage rates for the farm owner and the nonowner populations are correlated, but, except in 1934, the rates for owners are significantly lower.

larly is this true of laborers and croppers, and, to a smaller degree, of farm tenants. But since we have combined these three groups, a considerable amount of shifting in tenure status has been eliminated. Farm owners are in general an older and more stable group from the standpoint of shifting from one tenure group to another.<sup>18</sup> Unfortunately, in this investigation insufficient cases were available to study the trend in marriage rates for tenure groups further classified by color, sex, and relief status. In view of the fact that marriage rates for Negro groups

<sup>18</sup> The social mobility of families in the various tenure groups covered in this study is to be treated in a forthcoming publication of the North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station.

**TABLE VIII**  
**MARRIAGE RATES OF THE POPULATION 15-29 YEARS OF AGE, BY TENURE**  
**STATUS OF FAMILIES STUDIED, 1915 TO 1934\***

Year	Farm Owners	Nonowner Farm Groups				Nonfarm Groups
		Total	Tenants	Croppers	Laborers	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
All Years	8.7	10.9	10.3	11.9	9.9	9.4
1934	12.2	12.4	9.2	14.3	14.9	12.0
1933	10.5	13.1	13.1	16.0	6.2	15.7
1932	8.8	10.5	10.0	12.3	7.4	8.0
1931	7.8	9.0	9.0	8.2	10.9	7.4
1930	8.4	11.4	11.3	12.3	9.3	6.7
1929	7.8	7.8	8.0	8.2	6.4	11.5
1928	8.6	12.1	11.8	14.6	6.8	7.1
1927	8.8	10.8	11.2	9.4	13.4	9.8
1926	8.2	11.0	12.4	10.7	7.9	11.7
1925	8.4	10.9	9.7	11.1	13.9	10.4
1924	9.8	13.3	12.2	16.6	7.6	7.4
1923	7.7	9.6	9.1	8.9	13.0	8.5
1922	7.8	9.7	9.1	11.6	6.7	13.7
1921	8.0	10.2	9.4	12.2	7.1	5.6
1920	12.0	14.5	15.2	12.4	17.3	10.4
1919	6.5	10.3	12.7	9.0	6.2	7.5
1918	6.5	11.0	6.5	16.3	10.2	5.0
1917	8.2	9.8	9.1	10.8	9.4	6.5
1916	7.0	9.7	8.2	10.0	13.4	10.6
1915	8.6	10.1	7.1	11.9	13.3	8.9

\* Standard errors, based on the mean rate for all years but on the sample for each individual year, are as follows:

	1915	1934
Owners.....	1.3	1.1
Nonowners.....	1.3	.9
Tenants.....	2.0	1.4
Croppers.....	2.1	1.5
Farm Laborers.....	3.1	2.1
All Others.....	2.3	1.8

trended downward, as shown above, it is very likely true that the marriage rates for white tenants, croppers, farm laborers, and owners are all higher than those of the corresponding Negro farm groups.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This paper has demonstrated the usefulness of a relatively simple method of studying trends in specific marriage rates. The relation of marriage rates to such social and economic factors as relief status, farm prices, age, color, sex, and tenure status has been shown. A method of determining "normal" marriage ratios has also been indicated. Insofar as the detailed method and results are concerned, there is considerable similarity between this study and the previous study of "The Annual Rate of Departure of Rural Youths from Their Parental Homes."<sup>14</sup> In these two studies the same basic data were used; namely, a survey of 1,703 households in five rural areas of the Piedmont and Coastal Plain regions of North Carolina.

This study, it has been emphasized, analyzes the marriage rates of only *the living population, and its increase*, in a given area. All migrants from the area who are offspring of parents living in the area are included; but migrants having no parental home in the area could not be included. All living migrants to the area have, of course, been included; deceased persons have been excluded. In spite of these limitations, the results obtained very probably give a close approximation of the actual marriage rates in the area and in adjacent or similar areas. If this were not true, the marriage rates of the *very small* number of deceased persons (from 15 to 29 years of age at any year from 1915 to 1934) would necessarily have to be radically different from the marriage rates of the population still living; and the net effect of including all living out of the area, but not other migrants from the area, also would have to be relatively significant. Since the open-country population, in the areas studied, is a stable one and the size of the migrant groups not included is relatively small, the method used in this study is considered sound and useful. The use of this method in studying the marriage rates in small towns and cities would provide valuable supplementary data on recent population trends.

Assuming that the method does present a true picture of the dif-

<sup>14</sup> See footnote No. 1.

ference in the marriage rates of the groups studied, we have some very significant results. The fact that the relief population, possibly representative of a marginal group (culturally and biologically), has been marrying at a rate significantly lower than that of the nonrelief population during the last two or three years will surely affect the differential rates of natural increase within the population.”<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> A third paper in this series will show, by a similar method and for the same population, the recent trends in birth rates of married women between 15 and 44 years of age.

# Status and Migration

## NOTES ON CERTAIN PRINCIPLES OF MIGRATION APPLIED TO AMERICAN MIGRANTS TO SHANGHAI

*Herbert Day Lamson*

THE PURPOSE of this article is to examine certain "laws" of migration in the light of one foreign community in a great Oriental seaport. Some authorities have set forth the following reasons why migration tends for the most part to be for short distances:<sup>1</sup> (1) migration is an adjustment within large bodies of population; (2) it proceeds by gradual movements; (3) migration is expensive; (4) the processes of the spread of knowledge make it easier for near-by individuals to hear of new openings first; (5) the possibilities of individual adaptation to new environments require that these changes be gradual. When we examine these points one by one, it becomes obvious that the migration of Americans to Shanghai represents one of the exceptions which the authors acknowledge to exist. Our case of migration is not one taking place within large bodies of population. It is interpopulational rather than intrapopulational.

The second proposition does not hold for the Shanghai American community. The American who goes to Shanghai, if he lives in Kansas, does not move to Colorado, then to California, then to Honolulu, to Japan, and finally after many years to Shanghai. When the migrant gets to Honolulu, he is no nearer culturally to Shanghai than he is in San Francisco. Nor will a sojourn in Japan prepare him for the adaptations which he must make upon arrival in Shanghai, because Japan is

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<sup>1</sup> P. A. Sorokin and C. C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929), pp. 593-4.

not a point on a line of attractive influence centering at Shanghai, as a satellite city of Chicago might be for some Midwest rural dweller. Thus the alien migration to Shanghai is not a gradual movement but rather an abrupt one.

With the third proposition, that migrations are expensive, we can agree for our study. This fact means that those who do migrate in spite of this great cost are selected in some way, a fact upon which more will be said later. As for the proposition that the processes of the spread of knowledge make it easier for near-by individuals to hear of openings first, this also needs modification for our situation. In the case of those positions in missionary, consular, military service as protective units, and trade, which are filled directly from the United States, this does not apply. Some mission boards have offices in New York and may receive applications from or seek candidates all over the country, but nearness to Shanghai will have little to do with filling the posts. It is true, however, that some lesser vacancies in various enterprises in the American community may be filled locally. Thus in long-distance migration, of the type with which we are dealing, the sending centers in the country of origin may be more important for the regulation of circulation of individuals than mere geographical propinquity. The expense of long-distance migration being great, it is more essential to have a position assured before starting out than in short-distance movement. There are, however, perennially some individuals who arrive in Shanghai without definite prospects of a job and who hope to find work. This is not always possible, and many a disappointed American has been stranded with funds exhausted and forced to seek charitable aid in the form of a gift or a loan from fellow Americans in order to return home.

In our community there are some enterprises which are local in the sense that they have no head office or headquarters in the homeland. These organizations are more likely to engage help locally, providing the right type can be secured. Sometimes even these purely local businesses send to America for certain specialists whom they desire, or they may, by a more tempting salary, attract an able man from some other



company. When this is done it sometimes creates hard feelings between companies in the small American community which numbers under 4,000. It is in these local organizations, then, which are not rooted in America and which are under no obligation to consult a home office, that the principle of propinquity is more likely to be effective. But the difficulty here is that there is no large supply of talent upon which to draw outside of and near Shanghai. The supply of Americans eligible for migration to Shanghai from such outports as Tientsin, Hankow, and Canton is even smaller than within Shanghai itself. In certain times of crisis the principle of propinquity may be seen at work, as after the Spanish-American War when a considerable number of Americans entered Shanghai from the Philippine Islands; or when, in the crisis in Shanghai in 1932 during a Chinese-Nippon war, a contingent of U. S. Army men was rushed in from the Philippines to augment the local American defense force.

The fifth reason advanced as an explanation for the fact that short-distance migration tends to be the normal type was that the possibilities of individual adaptation to new environments require that these changes be gradual. This general principle does not seem to be valid for our American community in Shanghai. By this I mean to point out that there are some types of migration in which there is no possibility of the approach being a gradual one. As already suggested, the leap from Europe or America to China is a long one. A great seaport of a widely divergent culture presents to alien migrants a situation almost wholly novel to which they are forced to adapt themselves, or return home, or perish. All three forms of response to the Shanghai situation have been encountered in our community. The port was opened to foreign trade in 1843, and in the 1840's the pattern which the British and American settlers worked out as an adaptation was the building of a separate community for themselves in which they could live in a manner as much like the homelands as possible. This process was, of course, only begun in that first decade. The missionaries, not being closely connected with the mercantile element, developed a slightly different form of adaptation. This was, after early years of trying to live in rented Chinese

houses in the native city, to erect houses of their own in compounds somewhat apart from the densest part of the Chinese city and on the edges of the more expensive foreign settlement. The Chinese were not eager to assimilate the aliens, and the latter were glad to live their own life, which to them was, of course, superior to that of the native culture. The possibilities of individual and community adaptation are so multiple that abrupt changes *can* be endured and the community survive. Thus, I would contend that the alleged limitations of human adaptive power are not sufficiently great to be set down as a universally applicable compulsive which forces all human wanderings into a short-distance mold.

The reasons which have impelled mass migrations in the past have *not* outstandingly been at work here, such as: climatic changes, disasters, pressure of population, epidemics, religious and political persecutions.<sup>2</sup> Our American migrants to Shanghai have represented an individual type of migration, beginning at a time when in the United States there was still plenty of frontier. The community is primarily one of specialists.

In regard to migrations, there is a further principle which needs to be considered. It is that each main current is always associated with a compensating countercurrent.<sup>3</sup> There were no Americans in Shanghai before 1843, so that when this migration started there was no foreign population to start a countercurrent. However, a countercurrent has existed and does exist, but we have to think of it in terms of (a) the Chinese who leave Shanghai and (b), the aliens who go there and who do not remain. As far as the Shanghai Chinese are concerned, they have not been as anxious to go abroad as have the southern Chinese, the "Cantonese," who have constituted a large proportion of the Chinese abroad.<sup>4</sup> There have been kept in this port no statistics of departures and arrivals of migrants, so that we are unable to present comparative

<sup>2</sup> See R. B. Dixon, "Migrations, Primitive," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, X, 420-25.

<sup>3</sup> Sorokin and Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, p. 596.

<sup>4</sup> Chen Ta, *Chinese Migrations with Special Reference to Labor Conditions* (Washington, 1923).

data. During the days when Chinese labor was being recruited for work in the United States and elsewhere some native laborers were shipped from Shanghai. Some of these men were tricked into going, were kidnaped by aliens (including a few Americans), a fact which aroused great antiforeign feeling on the part of the natives and led to serious rioting in the city, as my investigations into local American consular records revealed.<sup>5</sup>

Shanghai has also been the starting point for many groups of Chinese students who have gone abroad to study. The exclusion law of the United States is a factor strongly inhibiting a greater countercurrent of migration out of this seaport in recent years. We cannot say that the Chinese who have gone from Shanghai to the United States have done so because aliens have entered the city and displaced the natives. The presence of the foreigner and his culture has served as a reminder to the natives of a different civilization beyond the seas and has stimulated interest in studying that civilization at firsthand. The presence of foreign settlements, protected by armed foreign garrisons and gunboats, has served to make Shanghai a city of refuge, both to other foreigners in the interior and to Chinese, who during times of civil commotion, war, and rioting have flocked into the foreign areas for protection. This situation is not unlike that which took place in and around medieval European walled cities.

As for the Americans who migrate to Shanghai and then return to their homeland, there is a selective process going on. It is unlikely that many Americans, turning their backs upon America, go to Shanghai determined to make it their adopted home and China their country. Most entertain dreams of returning to the United States. Among those who go out planning to make Shanghai the place of their life's work, it is likely that the ones who can and do stay longer are those who have a stronger constitution, since the less healthy ones withdraw or die. In the earlier years the casualties from disease were proportionately greater than now. Mentally there is a selection taking place; those who cannot

<sup>5</sup> *U. S. Consular Archives, Shanghai, Miscellaneous, Aug. 7, 1856 to Dec. 31, 1861.*

fit into the local situation withdraw because "they don't like it" or, if they remain too long, they may go to pieces mentally. One American woman, whose father had been a missionary for many years in Shanghai, said to me, "Father used to say that if a foreigner had a mental kink in his brain anywhere, living in China would be sure to bring it out." Morally, too, there is selection. Shanghai is a place in which the alien's money goes far in purchasing pleasure, a fact which means many possible pitfalls for the young unattached alien. Unless a person has a certain grip on himself he goes down and sooner or later leaves, or is helped out of town by his sturdier fellow countrymen.

The more restless among the Americans (who as a group have a reputation for being more restless than the British) may leave the city when they discover that after all Shanghai is not the get-rich-quick place of which they had dreamed. Others find the alleged "lure of the Orient" chiefly located in the advertisements of steamship lines, and fade out of the picture. In general, Americans have not expected to become Chinese citizens; they have not gone to Shanghai with any particular admiration for the people and the culture to which they sailed. A policy of social and cultural isolation has been the rule of life. Even the missionaries, living as many did in compounds in Chinese-controlled territory, speaking the native tongue, and having much closer contact with the Chinese than the majority of nonmissionaries, have not to any very great extent become assimilated to native culture. They have not sought to become citizens of their adopted land, but, on the contrary have constantly invoked the help of their own alien consular officials in securing protection for themselves and indemnities for damages received from native robbers or rioters.

The bonds of sentiment which bind most American migrants to their own culture and homeland are much stronger than those which bind them to Shanghai or to China. Permeating the life of this alien minority group is to be found an air of mobility, of impermanence. True, some Americans have become so enamored of life in Shanghai that they declare they would be unhappy living anywhere else in the world. But

this does not mean that they have adopted Chinese ways, but rather that they have made friends among many nationalities in the city and enjoy *Shanghai* life, which is different from *Chinese* life. There is an attractiveness to some about the "cosmopolitan" quality of the city, which even has weaned them away from any desire to return to America save for an occasional visit. But this does not mean a less intense love of country or a loss of American feeling. In fact, the international atmosphere of Shanghai, even though encouraging inter-group friendships, has a way of intensifying loyalty to one's own group.

#### MIGRATION AND VERTICAL CIRCULATION

Just as students of rural-urban migration desire to know what happens to the migrants to or from the city, so we desire to discover something about vertical mobility among American migrants to Shanghai. What happens to their status? Into what social strata do they fit? The answer at the outset may be briefly stated, "Certainly not the lowest social and economic classes." A different set of conditions is to be reckoned with than the one found within a given country in rural-urban migration. First, were there a group of American factory hands, laborers, and unskilled workers at the gates of Shanghai ready to take jobs, they could not compete with Chinese labor. Second, the American of unskilled, low class does not have the opportunity to get to Shanghai from America as readily as the poor American rural or small-town laborer is able to make his way to an American city because: (1) Migration of the poor over long distances on land is easier than over long distances on sea. The poor man on land may catch rides on freight trains, or he may stand on the highways and thumb a series of free rides. Furthermore, he can stop and resume his journey at any point along the line from his home to his destination, a thing not possible on the ocean. (2) The expense of the trip from America to Shanghai is great for a poor man. (3) There is little incentive for the poor of a country, such as the United States, to migrate to a still poorer country, such as China.

The principal way for the lower-economic-group personnel to get to

Shanghai is through shipping as a seaman and then securing discharge or deserting ship after arrival. In the days of sailing ships, this desertion by members of crews was very common, since the voyages were long, the quarters cramped, and the masters often harsh and cruel. The consular records, which I investigated in Shanghai for the 1850's and 1860's, for example, reveal much correspondence concerning deserting seamen who wished to engage in business, legal or illegal, or who wished to become professional soldier-adventurers on one side or the other of a Chinese rebellion. Some of these deserters made good, others became obnoxious beachcombers and criminal parasites, creating no end of ill will between natives and aliens, until rounded up by their respective national authorities and shipped away.

The same reason which keeps low economic groups from migrating to Shanghai also prevents a permanent vertical circulation downward into that class. It is true that some Americans having a good position may, through excesses so easily indulged in in a large Oriental port city, become dissolute and ruined morally and economically. *But*, such a person does not remain very long in this low estate. He may be forced, temporarily, to accept a lesser paid post, but if he does not straighten up he will lose that place too and become merely an unemployable panhandler. This situation soon comes to the attention of leaders in the American community, and the man will be shipped back home either through public or private aid. Racial and national pride, both on the part of the failure himself and on the part of his community which wishes to maintain white race prestige in the eyes of the Orientals, prevents him from becoming a habitual beggar. He probably could not hold a job as a ricksha puller or wharf coolie. Thus, selection takes place and, while the situation does not prevent temporary downward circulation of aliens (in fact there are many temptations which encourage it), it does tend to slough off those who find the life east of Suez and west of Honolulu unmanageable.

On the whole, Shanghai tends to raise the status of Americans in relation to the rest of society, when compared with the situation in the homeland. The lower-paid ranks of the Americans consist not of day

laborers, but of those such as seamen who come and go in any port, of a fringe engaged in producing vice for aliens and perhaps for Chinese, of certain occupations connected with shipping, engineering work, harbor piloting, policing, outdoor customs service. But these men are considerably higher in status than the coolie class of Chinese. These aliens may even afford one or two native servants. Thus, what from the point of view of the foreign community may be a relatively low-paid job, may in comparison with the Chinese scale of low-paid occupations be middle class, or even upper class. There is in Shanghai a national economic-level differential at work determining the status in native-alien relations which is not present within the communities from which these aliens migrate. The theory which holds that in rural-urban migration no matter what the native ability of the migrants, they as a rule enter the lower classes, as alleged by Kuczynski, certainly fails to apply to American migration in our transoceanic situation.<sup>6</sup>

We have no way of telling precisely whether the Americans who go to Shanghai are selected positively or negatively over those in their communities who remain behind. I think, however, it is safe to say that Americans have not been forced to leave their homeland because they could secure no work there. Their going to Shanghai may presumably represent at least equal, if not superior, initiative when compared with those who may have had the similar opportunity but who did not go. Certainly there is to be found much greater ability in our American community in Shanghai than is to be found at home in an unselected community of the same numerical size.

This much may be said: there seems to be a tendency for Shanghai to give to the American migrant a status of greater importance than he would have had had he remained at home. This is not true for every individual, but the economic differential between America and China is one strong factor ever at work serving to raise the status. In order to admit this one does not have to commit himself to any theory of inherent mental superiority on the part of those who go to Shanghai. An

<sup>6</sup> See a summary in Sorokin and Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, p. 598.

editorial in the British official newspaper in Shanghai once commented in this regard, "Small potatoes at home take on the proportions of watermelons when they are transplanted to the Orient." This fact is pointed out also by M. M. Wood in her study of the stranger.<sup>8</sup> Why is this so?

(1) Each American is a bearer of an alien culture which is widely different from that of the native. This difference makes members of the alien minority unique. (2) The alien's culture is that of the spreading world culture, the Western civilization which has been enveloping the world. Therefore, the alien, as bearer of this advancing and dazzling machine-made culture, has prestige in the eyes of many natives. The rural migrant into the city of his own nation has nothing of this uniqueness to contribute to the city, for the city is the seat of the developing civilization. The rural migrant tends to be dazzled by and to fall into line with what the city has to offer. The alien in Shanghai is in a way bringing an urban civilization to a predominantly rural culture. The trend of world civilization is primarily *alienward*, as far as the Chinese are concerned, just as the trend of national civilization is *urbanward*, as far as the rural migrant is concerned. (3) The principle of extraterritoriality, by which the American is under his own laws rather than the laws of the country to which he has migrated, also makes him unique and of more importance than if he were on an equal legal footing with the natives. This means that an ordinary American may become the center of an international incident. (4) The presence of millions of poor natives, willing to perform menial service and hard labor for a pittance, has meant that the alien finds himself in the status of a boss more intensively than he might at home. This vertical movement upward may tend to give the alien an exaggerated sense of his own importance. It very often aids in the formation of sentiments of white superiority and heightens his sense of isolation. The number of servants may become, for some aliens, a mark of social and economic

<sup>7</sup> Cited in *American Chamber of Commerce Bulletin*, II, No. 7 (1919).

<sup>8</sup> M. M. Wood, *The Stranger, A Study in Social Relationships* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), p. 172.



position. (5) On the frontier at which two cultures meet, the alien is in the position of a pioneer and has opportunities which he would not have in the heart of his own culture. (6) The vagaries of international monetary exchange sometimes, although not always, give the alien in Shanghai an advantage in that his money goes further when exchanged into native currency.

The occupational status of Americans in Shanghai has not been, as with certain minorities in some places in the world, limited legally to certain occupations. However, economic laws, race pride, and differing standards of living serve to exclude them from some low-paid positions. The fact that they enjoyed extraterritorial status and did not become a part of Chinese culture gave Americans a greater freedom than they perhaps would have had under other conditions. In the last two or three decades, Chinese competition has arisen in certain lines of work formerly monopolized by foreigners, and, as a result, pressure has been brought to bear upon the National Government to restrict the rights of aliens to enter certain callings.<sup>9</sup> This increasing competition between aliens and Chinese, as the level of ability of the latter rises, is bound to affect the status of American migrants more and more in the future. It will have a tendency to make the American community in Shanghai even more of a specialized minority.

<sup>9</sup> Mingchien Joshua Bau, *The Status of Aliens in China*. A preliminary paper. (Shanghai: China Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1931), pp. 29-30.

# The Influence of the AAA Cotton Program Upon the Tenant, Cropper, and Laborer

*Fred C. Frey and T. Lynn Smith*

THIS SUBJECT is a very comprehensive and difficult assignment.<sup>1</sup> The magnitude of the area included, the large number of people affected, the paternalistic nature of planter-tenant-cropper-wage hand relationships, the multiplicity and complexity of the possible effects, the tremendous quantity of propaganda which has been circulated on the subject, the bitter controversy which has been waged over the tenant and cropper issue, partisan politics, the emotion generated in the popular mind resulting from a mistaken identification of the tenant and cropper situation with the problems of race, race relations, and race conflict, and, above all, the lack of adequate records make our task a very hard one.

There is no end to points which might be discussed on this subject, but we shall make no attempt to cover the entire field. We shall begin by limiting the area considered to the 13 Southern States: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. The territory within these states embraces practically all the region where "cropping" is practiced, although some cotton is grown in Missouri, New Mexico, Arizona, and California.

We next limit the aspects of the problem. There are a myriad of ways in which the cotton-control program might affect the tenant,

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cropper, and wage hand. It would be impossible to discuss all of them. We shall consider only three phases of the situation in our discussion. In the first place we shall attempt to summarize the effects of the cotton program in the creation of unemployment, or in the displacement of tenants, croppers, or other laborers from their regular jobs. By displacement of tenants, croppers, or laborers we do not mean merely violations of contracts, or forced removals, but the employment of fewer persons or families than were employed before the inauguration of the control program. Again, we shall devote some attention to a consideration of the effects which the cotton-control program has had upon the standards of living of the families of the tenants, croppers, and other laborers. Finally, we shall attempt to determine some of the ways in which the program has had influences upon the mobility of the tenants, croppers, and wage hands. These three aspects impress us as the most significant phases of the problem; they are the features about which most of the disagreement has arisen; they are sufficiently broad in scope to furnish a basis for any paper of this nature; and they are aspects about which some information can be secured.

An understanding of the manner in which the production of cotton is carried on is basic to our entire discussion. We shall attempt to give a brief summary of this. In reality there are two very distinct systems of agriculture in the cotton area. Each has a rather definite distribution, one being typical of the hill and upland sections, the other being predominant in the deltas and lowlands. The mode of agriculture carried on in the hills is of little concern to us in this discussion, because it is one in which tiny patches of cotton, growing on small farms, are tilled by the farm operators and the members of their families. These are frequently referred to locally as "one-mule" farms. Throughout the uplands, scarcely any agricultural laborers, either croppers or wage hands, are to be found. The people in these areas have problems, plenty of them, but they are not problems relating to the tenant, the cropper, or the wage hand.

Our major interest is in the system of production found in the lowlands. In the deltas and lowlands, where the bulk of the cotton is

produced, the prevailing agricultural unit is the plantation, a large-scale enterprise. It is distinguished by the fact that the operator does only a part or none of the actual work of cultivation, tenants, croppers, or wage hands being employed to do the labor. Some of these plantations are of tremendous size, embracing thousands of acres and requiring the services of dozens and even hundreds of families. This plantation system has come down to us, with very slight alterations, from the prewar plantation on which slave labor was utilized in the production of cotton. Let us quote briefly from a recent report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration:<sup>2</sup>

On the plantations that had withstood the reconstruction period following the Civil War, the cropper displaced the old slave system. For a satisfactory share of the harvest, the landlord would agree to furnish the cropper while he cultivated the crop. The furnish consisted of living quarters, foodstuff, and equipment. The cropper and his family furnished the labor, and the family with a large number of workers was always more satisfactory as a tenant. After the harvest the cropper would be paid for his portion of the crop less the value of his furnish. . . . While the cropper system offered ample opportunity for the landlords to be fair, and some croppers may have profited under the system, in general, the cropper's independence was only nominal. Obviously, the system was merely a variation of the old slave relationship and kept the cropper on the margin of economic existence. This marginal existence, with its pseudo-economic freedom along with the owner's spirit of the landed aristocracy, emphasized whatever deficiencies appeared in the cropper class, fostered an attitude of dependence and suppressed initiative.

The customary procedure under the plantation system is very important for an understanding of our problem. We describe it somewhat in detail. At the beginning of the year the planter, or landlord, assigns each family of laborers to a specific plot of ground. On this land is found a two- or three-room cabin in which the family resides. Most of the fuel is secured from timber growing on the place, although it is often reported that a good part of it comes from the fences on the plantation. As a rule the operator of the plantation provides all the tools, equipment, livestock, and feed for livestock. Generally he also furnishes all the seed. In fact he supplies all the elements of production

<sup>2</sup> "Six Rural Problem Areas," *Research Monograph I* (Washington, D.C.: 1935), 21-22.

except the labor and the fertilizer. It is customary to charge one-half of the bill for the fertilizer against the one-half share of the crop, which is to be the laborers' payment for their services. Because of this mode of payment, such families of laborers are referred to as croppers. Food, clothing, medicine, doctor bills, etc., are all provided for by the landlord, who charges these against the cropper's share of the cotton produced. These commodities and services may be supplied liberally or grudgingly, depending upon the landlord and the availability of labor. If one of his people falls into trouble the planter gets him out. Where disasters, such as floods, occur, the planter has all the responsibility. The planter serves as judge in all the disputes occurring on the plantation. Requests of every sort are made of him by his "hands," who seem to feel that it doesn't hurt to ask, no matter what their wish, and that the planter may fulfill their request. Through a custom which was not disrupted by the Civil War, the planter keeps all the records; he sees to the marketing of all the crops, selecting both the time to sell and to whom to sell; he holds a crop-lien mortgage over the cropper's one-half share of the cotton. This mortgage is to protect the advances or "furnish" he has given to the croppers, and is seldom recorded with the county clerk.

The work of these laborers on the plantation is a year-round proposition. In the late winter they may be seen cleaning the drainage ditches, mending the fences, grubbing and burning the briars and thickets; then comes plowing and preparing the soil for the seeds; in the spring is the planting time; throughout the long summer days, all the members of the family may be seen in the fields "chopping" the cotton or spraying the plants to rid them of such pests as weevils; and again in the late summer and fall the entire family will be found going up and down the rows, engaged at the largest task of all, picking the white fluffy cotton. As mentioned previously, a claim to a portion of this is the croppers' reward for the long days of toil they have put forth. The remaining portion goes to the landlord in return for his share in the productive process, land, equipment, work stock, supervision, advances, etc.

If, as is frequently the case, the worker has livestock, equipment, seed, etc., his status is higher and he gets a larger portion of the crop (two-thirds or three-fourths). In this case, he is designated as a share tenant. Very rarely in the Cotton Belt, a specified cash rent is paid for each acre—the operator is then a cash tenant, an entrepreneur or farm operator, and his status is similar to that of the cash tenant elsewhere.

Some planters prefer to pay a specified daily or weekly wage to the workers who till part or all of their lands. Each of these workers is designated as a wage hand, and the entire group of wage hands on a plantation is called a "pay squad." Their number and importance vary from time to time.

Now let us briefly consider the situation in the spring of 1933, the time when the program, whose effects we are to consider, was undertaken. Those familiar with the development will remember this period as a time of crisis for the cotton planters and cotton industry. The price of cotton was ruinously low, near five cents per pound. A tremendous stock had been carried over from preceding years. The excessive cotton acreage planted and planned gave promise of increasing the supply and beating down the price still lower. Planters, merchants, bankers, the populace of the Cotton Belt were facing bankruptcy or already closed out. The business men and agricultural leaders of the section were frantic.

All of this loomed large in the political activities in the region. The years immediately preceding 1933 had been filled with all sorts of proposals for controlling the amount of cotton grown. To follow the lead of industry, and thus reduce the volume of cotton produced, was the solution universally offered. Co-operative efforts by the score had been tried with little or no success. In desperation some states passed laws forbidding the planting of any cotton for the period of one year—a cotton holiday.<sup>3</sup> These attempts were automatically nullified when other states failed to join in the movement. For some time before the advent of the new National Administration, it was evident that a

<sup>3</sup> Charles S. Johnson, Edwin R. Embree, and W. W. Alexander, *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935), p. 48.

nationwide program of some sort was sure to be attempted. With the coming of the New Deal in the spring of 1933 the philosophy of production control was quickly embodied in a national program. Before considering the new program, let us say that during the crisis the cotton cropper was in a position of relative advantage, at least in some respects. With the price of their product so very low, individual planters had tried to meet fixed costs by increasing the volume of production. This meant there could be no slackening in the demand for families of laborers. The cropper seldom worried about his future or where provisions were coming from—the landlord did that. On more than one occasion, in those days, planters pointed out to the writers the advantageous situation of the families on their places.

The inauguration of President Roosevelt came in March, but it was some time after that before a program could be formulated and put into effect. By the time it was ready for the farmer, the cotton was already growing in the fields. As already mentioned, an unusually large acreage had been seeded, giving promise of further increasing the surplus and of driving the price still lower. In such a situation, it was inevitable that a philosophy of production control, embodied into a program of action, would mean plowing under a portion of the crop. Nineteen thirty-three went down in history as the year of the "plow-up." Those of us who were living in the Cotton Belt at the time still have vivid memories of those days: the hurried formation of an organization; feverish activity in signing up the producers; the mule, the plow, and the laborers in the field turning under the green cotton plants; rental payments (and how slow they were in coming!) to the operators of the lands on which the cotton was destroyed. To some people the re-education of the mule was a tremendous joke; to others it was a very stern and exasperating reality.

At the present time it is very apparent that the tenant, cropper, and laborer were pretty much overlooked in the cotton-control program. They were not the ones demanding a program of control in the first place; they had practically no voice in framing it in the second. The

program devised was one entered into by the government and the landlord. The planter was left to work out his own arrangements with the families on his place, tenants, croppers, and laborers. It is small wonder that the cotton-control program is often called a "landowners' program."

In view of the haste with which the measures were formulated, the organization built up, and the control measures effected, it is not surprising that we are able to find shortcomings in the procedure. It is extremely unfortunate that the 1933 contracts were not more detailed, and it is most regrettable that absolutely no inventory was made of the tenant-cropper-labor situation at the time. Whenever any reform measure is undertaken without adequate facts on the situation being dealt with, it is certain to create violent controversy as it progresses. Disagreements arise regarding the original state of affairs, the need for remedial measures, the amount of change or progress, and the benefits of the undertaking in general. Great amounts of heat are generated, but very little light on the subject accrues from such disputes. So with regard to the situation in 1933, we have no direct information. We have had plenty of disputes over the situation and the accomplishments. If the 1933 contracts had contained information relative to the families living on the land (information comparable to that secured in the 1934 and 1935 campaigns), there would be a basis for proving or disproving most of the various charges and countercharges which have been made on the subject.

Lacking such essential information, how are we to go about determining if the cotton-control or reduction program has resulted in the unemployment or displacement of tenants, croppers, and wage hands (members of the "pay squads")? And how shall we gauge the extent of such unemployment if it is found to have occurred? There are few people gullible enough to believe that the acreage devoted to cotton can be reduced one-third without an accompanying decrease in the laborers engaged in its production.

As indicated above, the determination of the amount and nature of



the reduction in the numbers of manual laborers employed in the growing of cotton would be very much simplified if we had information for 1933 (the year the program of control was inaugurated) which would be comparable to the information available in the later contracts. It is regrettable that the lack of these data prevents such a direct approach to the problem.

Another direct approach would be to canvass a representative sample of planters, utilizing their records of the past few years for securing the data needed in making the necessary comparisons. This would seem to be the most satisfactory procedure. Owing to the nature of the landlord-tenant-cropper relationships, abundant records exist in the hands of private individuals which would make such an investigation possible. Unfortunately a project of this sort requires funds and time, greatly in excess of those available to the writers.

Our approach necessarily will be a more indirect one. It should be possible to get some pertinent information on our subject through a comparison of the results of the 1930 census with the data from the 1935 Census of Agriculture. Of course the period covered by the cotton-control program is not identical with the interval between the two census enumerations. Nevertheless, a careful analysis of the factors involved makes it appear likely that the census data should be fairly indicative of the extent to which displacement of tenants and croppers has occurred or failed to occur during the cotton-control program. Thus if one takes a relatively small area as a unit, and if one confines the investigation to those regions in which the growing of cotton is almost the sole support of the population, it would seem that any decreases in the number of tenants and croppers occurring between 1930 and 1935 would be fairly attributed to the control-program which began in 1933. In this connection it should be remembered that the period from 1930 to 1933 was one in which the net migration of people was away from the cities towards the open country. This operated to increase the total number of farm workers, including tenants and croppers, during the years immediately preceding the initiation of the cotton-control program. Furthermore, from 1930 to 1933 was a period when the produc-

tion of cotton was very great. As we have mentioned, planters were caught with relatively high overhead and production costs at a time when the price of cotton had tobogganed to around five cents per pound. In the struggle to meet expenses, they tried to recoup part of their losses, due to the low price, by producing more cotton. Furthermore, whenever costs of production have maintained themselves at a relatively high level after the price of the product has fallen, it is advantageous to the planter to pay his laborers on a share-of-the-crop basis. This may be the only way he can remain in business. At such a time wage hands decrease in numbers; croppers increase. Thus it is evident that important factors operated between 1930 and 1933 to prevent any decrease in the number of tenants and croppers. In fact, in all probability these manual laborers increased considerably between 1930 and 1933. Thus we may be sure that the comparison of the census data for 1930 with those for 1935 for the purpose of determining displacement of tenants and croppers from 1933 to 1935 is a conservative procedure. The actual displacement was probably even greater than the differences indicated by such comparisons.

We have pointed out the desirability of selecting a small unit, such as a county, as the basis for comparisons. We have indicated also that the units must be very homogeneous and should be almost entirely dependent upon cotton. To the extent that it is impossible to satisfy these conditions the data will be inadequate or even misleading. Thus the manner of selecting such units or counties presents itself as a very important consideration.

In the first place it was necessary to eliminate the influence of recent developments in the areas contiguous to urban centers. Between 1930 and 1935 the number of farms and the farm population mounted very rapidly in the areas adjacent to cities.<sup>4</sup> This increase may be partially accounted for by a more complete enumeration of small farms in the

<sup>4</sup> T. Lynn Smith, "Recent Changes in the Farm Population of the Southern States," a manuscript accepted for publication in *Social Forces*. Cf. Robert T. McMillan, "Some Observations on Oklahoma Population Movements Since 1930," *Rural Sociology*, I (1936), 332-343.

last agricultural census, although it was surely influenced by the movement of families from the cities to nearby areas where they might produce part of their foodstuffs.<sup>5</sup> In any case it was deemed necessary to eliminate such influences from our comparisons. To do this, all counties containing cities of 10,000 or more inhabitants in 1930 were omitted from consideration.

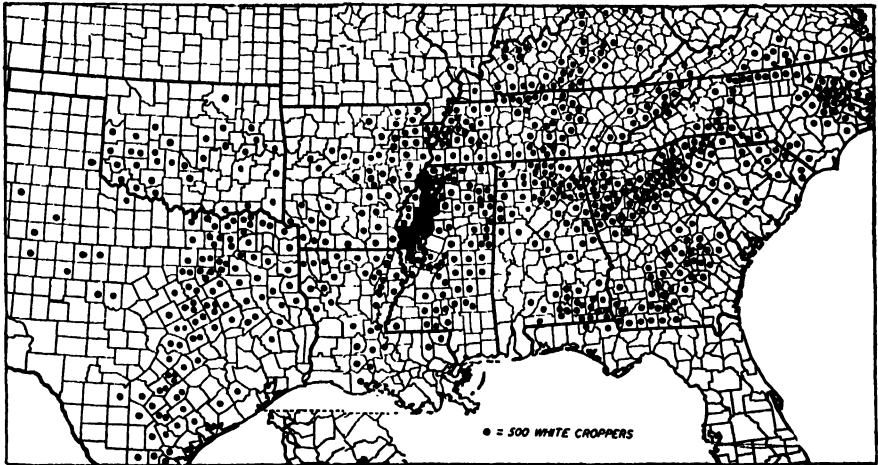
The census data giving the use to which the "crop land harvested" was devoted is another important criterion useful in selecting the counties for study. Obviously, the selection should be confined to those counties in which a large portion of the cultivated land is utilized in the production of cotton. Rather arbitrarily we selected 40 per cent as the dividing line and eliminated from our sample all counties devoting less than this percentage of their "crop land harvested" to cotton in 1929.

Even after removing the counties near urban centers and those devoting less than 40 per cent of their crop land to cotton, there are other important considerations which must be taken into account. The South contains many counties in which agriculture is secondary in importance, sawmilling or other rural industries offering the major basis of support for their populations. Cotton is frequently the chief crop in these semi-agricultural areas. Not infrequently the counties in which most of the cultivated land is devoted to cotton (although agriculture itself is of secondary importance in their economy) have served as a resting place for the backwash of population, from the villages, towns, and cities, which occurred during the depression. This was especially pronounced in 1932 when hundreds of shacks were springing up in "backwoods" areas. In some of the very poor cutover parishes of western Louisiana there was an increase between 1930 and 1935 of from 30 to 40 per cent in the number of farm operators of whom, of course, a large number were farm tenants. But these increases represented former sawmill workers from the small towns and villages in the area, who had been left stranded when the timber supplies were exhausted and the mills

<sup>5</sup> P. K. Whelpton, "The Extent, Character and Future of the New Landward Movement," *Journal of Farm Economics*, XV (1933), 61-62.

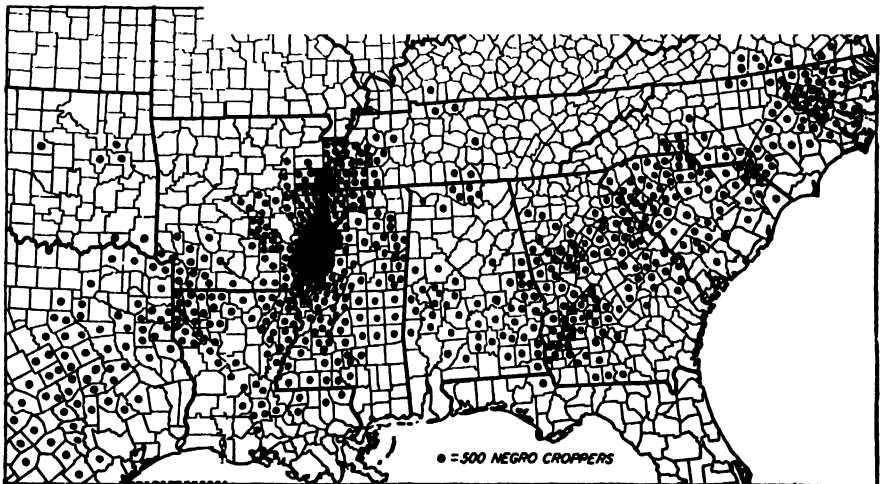
dismantled. As a last desperate effort, these people attempted to farm a little on the very sterile soils of the region. All those who commenced farming after 1933 received no allotments of cotton from the state's quota, this being one of the factors which makes their situation so trying. Obviously, the increase in farms (and tenants) due to this

FIGURE 1



DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE CROPPERS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES, 1930

FIGURE 2

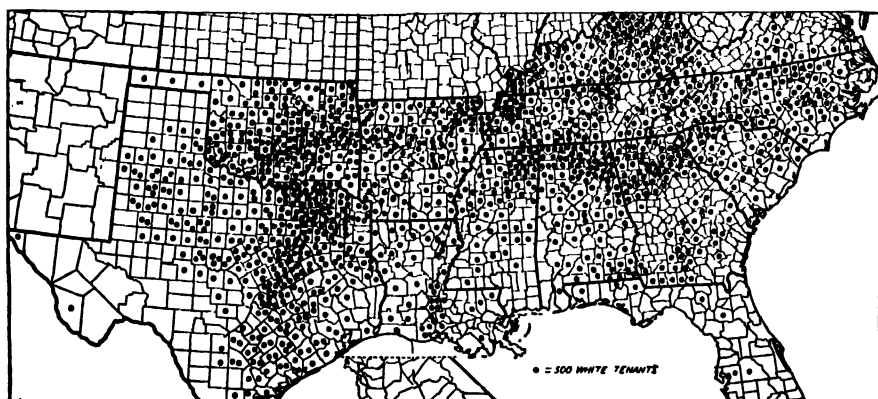


DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO CROPPERS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES, 1930

situation is not a result of the AAA program and must be ruled out. It is necessary to eliminate counties of this nature from our comparisons, and we believe there is a fairly satisfactory way of doing it.

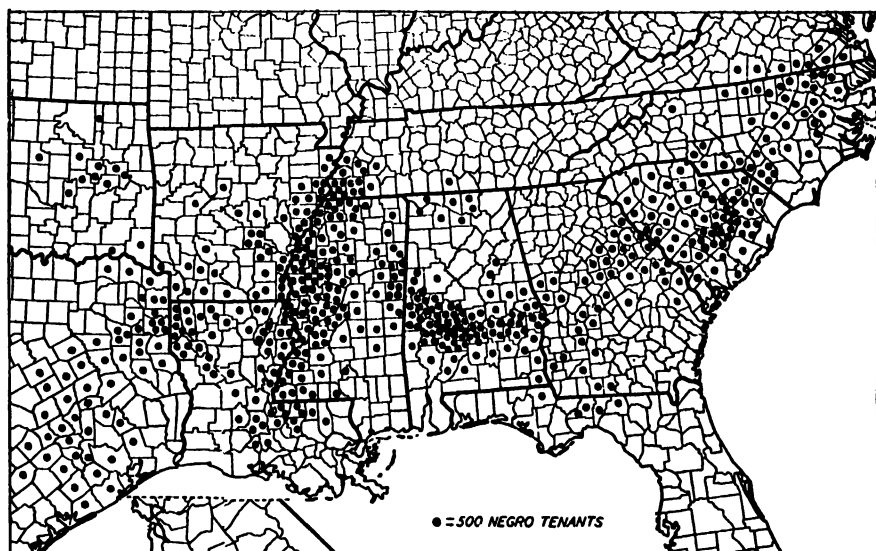
Cotton and the cropping system have been wedded for many years, ever since the Civil War. To those familiar with agriculture in the South the extent to which the two are found in conjunction will be evident from Figures 1 and 2, charts which we have prepared to show the distribution of white and Negro croppers in the 13 Southern States in 1930. The total number of white croppers in the 13 states amounted to 380,356, and the number of Negro croppers was slightly larger, 392,217. These charts make very apparent the striking manner in which both white and Negro croppers are concentrated in the Cotton Belt. The white croppers are more widely scattered than the Negro croppers, but even the whites are practically lacking from the crop-specialty areas of the South. On the other hand, tenancy is widespread throughout the entire South, as, indeed, it is throughout the nation. To illustrate this point, and for comparative purposes, we have charted the distribution of white and Negro tenants in the 13 Southern States. In 1930 the white tenants in the Southern States totaled 684,228, the Negro tenants 303,888. (See Figures 3 and 4.) A study of these data suggests that the units for our investigation should be based on the cropping system

FIGURE 3



DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE TENANTS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES, 1930

FIGURE 4



DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO TENANTS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES, 1930

in its fullest intensity. Accordingly, we limited our sample to those counties which contained large numbers of croppers and included only those having 1,000 or more croppers in 1930 in our sample.

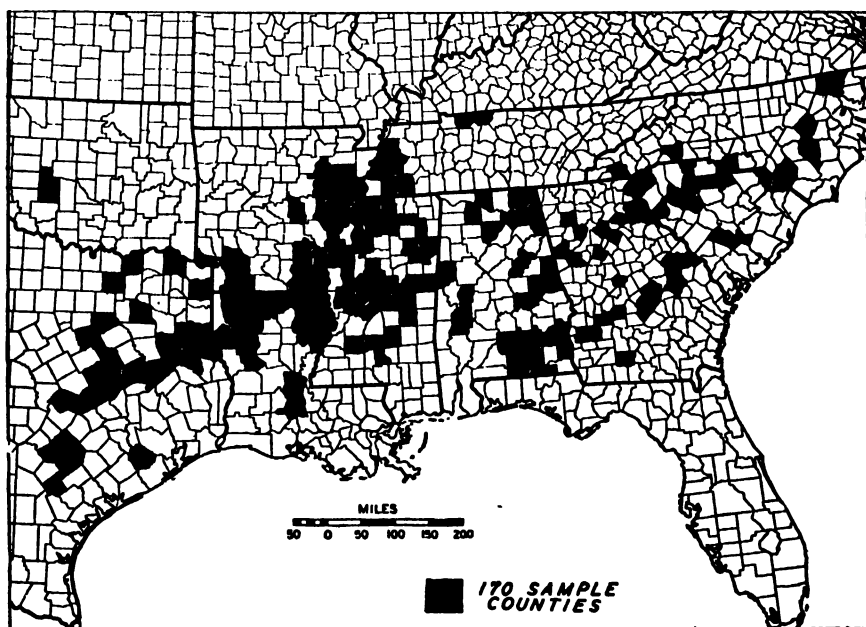
After eliminating the counties containing a city of 10,000 or more, the counties devoting less than 40 per cent of the crop land harvested in 1929 to cotton, and the counties containing less than 1,000 croppers, there was a total of 170 counties left for study. The location of these sample counties is indicated in Figure 5.<sup>6</sup> Three southern states, Florida,

<sup>6</sup> The counties chosen are as follows: Alabama—Barbour, Butler, Chambers, Cherokee, Coffee, Covington, Crenshaw, Cullman, DeKalb, Elmore, Geneva, Hale, Henry, Jackson, Lawrence, Limestone, Marengo, Marshall, Pickens, Pike, Randolph, Talladega, Tallapoosa; Arkansas—Ashley, Chicot, Columbia, Crittenden, Cross, Desha, Drew, Hempstead, Jackson, Lafayette, Lee, Lincoln, Little River, Lonoke, Monroe, Nevada, Phillips, Poinsett, St. Francis, Woodruff; Georgia—Bartow, Burke, Carroll, Cobb, Colquitt, Coweta, Dodge, Dooley, Elbert, Emanuel, Franklin, Gwinnett, Hart, Henry, Jackson, Jefferson, Laurens, Macon, Madison, Randolph, Sumter, Terrell, Walton; Louisiana—Avoyelles, Bienville, Bossier, Claiborne, DeSoto, East Carroll, Franklin, Lincoln, Madison, Morehouse, Natchitoches, Red River, Richland, St. Landry, Tensas, Union, Webster, West Carroll; Mississippi—Attala, Bolivar, Carroll, Chickasaw, Clay, Copiah, DeSoto, Holmes, Humphreys, Jefferson Davis, Lafayette, Leake, Lee, Madison, Marshall, Monroe, Neshoba, Newton, Nuxabee, Panola, Quitman, Sharkey, Simpson, Smith, Sunflower, Tallachatchie, Tate, Tunica, Union, Winston, Yazoo; North Carolina—Franklin, Halifax, Johnston, North Hampton, Robeson,

Kentucky, and Virginia, are not represented in a sample taken in the manner indicated.

It is worth noting that although 1,172 southern counties were eliminated from our study, the remaining 170 counties, which were included in our sample, contained 311,697 croppers in 1930, or 40.3 per cent of

FIGURE 5



DISTRIBUTION OF THE 170 COUNTIES IN THE SAMPLE

the total in the Southern States. They also contained 248,996 tenants, 25.2 per cent of the total for the Southern States.

Some may think that the comparisons would be more significant if made for croppers alone. This might be very misleading. Tenants must be included as well since the status of a given individual or family may

Rutherford, Sampson, Union; Oklahoma—Caddo; South Carolina—Abbeville, Cherokee, Chester, Dillon, Lancaster, Laurens, Marlboro, Newberry, Oconee, Orangeburg, Pickens, Union; Tennessee—Crockett, Dyer, Fayette, Hardeman, Haywood, Lauderdale, Montgomery, Robertson, Tipton; Texas—Caldwell, Cass, Cherokee, Collin, Ellis, Falls, Fannin, Fort Bend, Gonzales, Guadalupe, Hill, Houston, Karnes, Kaufman, Leon, Limestone, Milam, Nacogdoches, Panola, Red River, Robertson, Rusk, Shelby, VanZandt, Williamson.

change very rapidly. For example, if a tenant suffers the loss of a mule, he may revert to the status of a share-cropper the next year. On the other hand a cropper may improve his position and become a share tenant. It must be kept in mind also that the number of tenants may have increased greatly in any county or state, despite the cotton-control program. The recent flow of population to rural areas and the shutting off of the customary outlets for the surplus population which is annually produced in the country could easily bring this about.

For each county chosen, changes between 1930 and 1935 in the number of tenants and croppers were computed and the percentage changes calculated. Then these changes were summarized by states. Table I, which presents the results of these computations, deserves careful study. It will be observed that no important change took place in the total number of tenants, the decrease amounting to only 1.1 per cent. With croppers, however, the situation was quite different, the total number in the 170 sample counties decreasing by 36,217, or 11.6 per cent. Heavy decreases in the numbers of tenants occurred in the Mississippi and Louisiana and a slight decrease in the Texas samples, otherwise the number of tenants increased in the sample counties of each state. Croppers, on the other hand, were fewer in all the states except Louisiana and Tennessee, where their numbers remained practically stationary. Losses among croppers were particularly great in Oklahoma, Texas, and Georgia. In interpreting the changes in the numbers of tenants and croppers the possibility of tenants slipping back into the status of croppers should be kept in mind, especially when considering the situation in Louisiana and Tennessee. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that croppers sometimes improve their lot and become tenants or even farm owners. Furthermore, the county is a relatively large and heterogeneous unit, although the smallest for which adequate data are available. Many counties embrace both lowlands covered with plantations and hilly areas dotted with small farms. Thus, in cases where a county contains both lowland and hill territories it is perfectly possible for a decrease in the number of tenants in the lowlands to be offset by increases in the number of tenants in the hilly



TABLE I  
CHANGES IN THE NUMBERS OF TENANTS AND CROPPERS IN THE SAMPLE COUNTIES, 1930 TO 1935

State	Number of Counties in the Sample	Number of Tenants in 1930	Increase or Decrease 1930-35		Number of Croppers 1930	Increase or Decrease 1930-35	
			Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent
Alabama.....	23	37,273	2,903	7.0	33,340	- 2,703	- 8.1
Arkansas.....	20	27,509	275	1.0	43,653	- 4,806	-11.0
Georgia.....	23	17,655	2,111	12.0	32,484	- 8,456	-26.0
Louisiana.....	18	28,583	- 2,921	-10.2	30,723	133	0.4
Mississippi.....	31	47,663	- 7,290	-15.3	83,222	- 2,303	- 2.8
North Carolina.....	8	14,528	162	1.1	12,073	- 1,438	-11.9
Oklahoma.....	1	2,837	172	6.1	1,077	566	-52.5
South Carolina.....	12	13,275	751	5.7	18,730	- 2,508	-13.4
Tennessee.....	9	12,218	1,104	9.0	15,485	85	0.5
Texas.....	25	47,455	- 65	- 0.1	40,910	-13,655	-33.4
TOTAL.....	170	248,996	- 2,798	- 1.1	311,697	-36,217	-11.6

TABLE II  
CHANGES IN THE NUMBER OF TENANTS AND CROPPERS, 1930-35, BY RACE

State	Increase or Decrease in Tenants, 1930-35			Increase or Decrease in Croppers, 1930-35		
	White		Negro		White	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Alabama.....	5,845	25.3	- 2,942	-20.8	- 2,617	-13.5
Arkansas.....	2,547	21.6	- 2,272	-14.5	- 2,196	-18.4
Georgia.....	2,762	23.5	- 651	-11.0	- 3,978	-24.5
Louisiana.....	896	0.8	- 3,817	-21.6	- 712	- 7.3
Mississippi.....	2,380	15.2	- 9,670	-30.2	- 2,092	-11.8
North Carolina.....	1,121	13.4	- 959	-15.5	- 498	- 9.6
Oklahoma.....	174	6.3	- 2	- 2.1	- 503	-51.3
South Carolina.....	1,574	23.6	- 823	-12.5	- 1,158	-17.3
Tennessee.....	1,128	16.3	- 24	- 0.4	- 67	- 0.9
Texas.....	1,539	4.0	- 1,604	-17.0	- 7,831	-32.4
TOTAL.....	19,966	14.7	-22,764	-19.1	-21,652	-18.2
					-14,561	- 7.6

sections. The rapid increases between 1930 and 1935 in the population of poor-land areas undoubtedly added materially to the number of tenants, even in these counties containing 1,000 or more croppers.

Much light on the nature of the changes is secured by classifying the data according to race. This is done in Table II. The hypothesis that decreases in the number of tenants in the lowlands, where the bulk of the cotton is produced, has been offset by increases in the poor-land, hill areas, where the backwash of population from the city has settled, is strongly supported by the data in Table II. It will be observed that the number of white tenants increased 14.7 per cent, increases occurring in every state. The greatest gains were in Alabama, South Carolina, and Georgia, although only in Louisiana was the increase negligible. On the other hand, Negro tenants decreased 19.1 per cent, a decrease occurring in every state. In Tennessee and Oklahoma, where the samples of Negroes were very small, the decreases are of little significance. But in Mississippi, with its tremendous areas of rich, black delta lands and its hordes of Negroes, the loss amounted to more than 30 per cent. In Louisiana and Alabama it was over 20 per cent. White families fleeing the cities, towns, and villages to settle as tenants in poor-land areas undoubtedly are responsible for keeping the decrease in number of white tenants from equaling that among Negro tenants.

Croppers of both races decreased in number between 1930 and 1935. The decrease among white croppers was much greater than that among Negro croppers, the percentages being 18.2 and 7.6 respectively. It may be that Negroes sliding back to sharecropping from tenancy played an important role in determining the relative changes, or that whites climbing from the status of cropper to that of tenant is the important factor. But we are inclined to believe that the planter's preference for Negro labor is one of the most important elements in the situation. This would easily explain why the rising tide of unemployment among croppers would bear most heavily upon those of the white race.

Let us again call attention to the fact that the data we have been presenting are for the most important cotton-producing counties in the

South. They seem to indicate a consistent and widespread tendency for cotton croppers and, to a considerable extent, tenants to decrease in numbers between 1930 and 1935. The decreases among Negroes were consistently greater than those among whites. This has an important bearing on the general interpretation of our findings. As a rule, planters seem to prefer Negroes to whites as tenants and croppers. For this reason it is probable that the data for Negroes are a more accurate index of unemployment or displacement than the data for whites. In other words, the data for white tenants have probably been greatly affected by the disturbance in the customary interchange of population between rural and urban areas, especially by the rapid increase of the rural population of poor-land areas.

So far all our discussion has referred to tenants and that portion of the laborers paid on a share-of-the-crop basis and commonly referred to as croppers. But one may ask what of the wage hands, the members of the pay squads? There is no satisfactory source for obtaining quantitative data on this subject without making a detailed field survey. However, from general observation and interviews with those most familiar with the situation, we can assert that the displacement of these people appears to have been very great, far greater than that of tenants or even croppers. In fact, these wage hands seem to have borne the brunt of the acreage reduction. In 1933, when the reduction of acreage was called for, a portion of the land of many landlords and planters was not allocated to any family of tenants or croppers. The planters were cultivating it with the help of hired laborers or pay squads. It was much simpler to plow up this portion of the crop than it was to work out an agreement with the tenants and croppers relative to plowing under the crop upon which they had a claim. To the illiterate cropper there was no logic in plowing up cotton. As a result, a great deal of the reduction in acreage came about by cutting out these patches of cotton formerly tilled by wage hands. Again, frequently the hostler, the hired man in charge of the plantation's mules, or others helping about the house or barns, would plant a few acres of cotton in addition to carrying on their assigned tasks. Most of this has been stopped since

the coming of the cotton-control program. However, in the latter case people have not been displaced, but their sources of income have been curtailed.

Next, the question might be asked what has become of those who have been displaced from the regular work by the influences of this cotton-control program? Of course, everyone could answer that they are on the relief rolls. Indeed some might want to use the relief rolls as a means of determining the unemployment due to the cotton program. But there is a fallacy in this. In the past a great many tenants and croppers have been on the relief rolls at the same time that they continued to live in their cabins and work on the plantation.

The matter of living standards is one of the most intriguing and important aspects of the entire AAA cotton-tenant and cropper situation. It is unfortunate that such great expenditures of time and funds are necessary to arrive at the simplest judgments of living planes on the basis of quantitative data. No such thorough investigation has been possible in the limited time the writers have had to prepare this discussion, even if they had had the necessary funds at their disposal. Nevertheless, we believe the nature of the relationships between planters, tenants, and croppers are such that one can be fairly sure of some of the more general aspects. It is also our conclusion that, in this respect, the AAA has been more beneficial to the tenant or cropper, than it has been in regard to employment.

We pointed out in the beginning that it is the planter who assumes the risks of production. The cropper, and to a very considerable degree the tenant, assume none of the entrepreneurial functions. We must also point out that the standard of living of tenants and croppers is practically lacking the trait commonly designated as saving, or making provision for the future. Saving, or providing for the future, offers little competition to their expenditures for immediate purposes of living. A good many studies are at hand which might be quoted to show that the so-called "agricultural ladder" does not operate in the South. Very

few croppers ever rise to the status of a farm owner.<sup>7</sup> Again, it is frequently said, and seemingly with much reason, that the wise cropper will permanently keep himself indebted to his landlord, such a practice adding to his security of tenure. Thus we must take account of three elements in the situation: (1) that the landlord or planter assumes the risks, or performs the entrepreneurial function; (2) that there is little premium placed upon the traits of thrift and saving in the tenant or cropper, if indeed such practices may not actually be penalized; and (3) that the system operates through a series of advances which the landlord must commence putting out from the beginning of the year. Under such an arrangement, the goods consumed by the cropper are practically limited to the quantity and quality he can inveigle the planter into advancing him. At times when cotton promises to return 12 cents per pound, it should be obvious that the landlord can afford to gamble with higher stakes—i.e., allow the families who reside on his place larger advances—than when cotton is likely to sell at five cents per pound. We leave it to the economists to determine the relative effects of acreage-control and monetary devaluation in bringing about the increase in the price of cotton, but to the extent that the AAA control-program has been responsible for the increased price, we conclude that it has increased the amounts of goods and services consumed by the cotton tenants and croppers.<sup>8</sup>

There is also another aspect to the situation which should be mentioned. Much use has been made of the "rented acreage," i.e., the land retired from the production of cotton, for the purpose of growing food and feed crops. To a considerable extent, tenants and croppers have been permitted to produce foodstuffs and livestock for their own consumption on these rented acreages. This practice has likewise contributed to the total supply of products consumed by these families.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, Harold Hoffsommer's study, "Landlord-Tenant Relations and Relief in Alabama," a *Research Bulletin* from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, November, 1935.

<sup>8</sup> In his study, "The Relation of the Agricultural Adjustment Program to Rural Relief Needs in North Carolina," a mimeographed *Preliminary Report* from the North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, November, 1935, C. Horace Hamilton has shown how the status of those agriculturists who remained in 1934 improved in the next year.

The effects of the AAA cotton-control, or acreage-reduction program, upon the mobility of the cotton tenants and croppers, constitute a very important aspect of our subject, and one to which we must devote some attention before closing. That the turnover of laborers, or the mobility of tenants and croppers is very great, is an undisputed fact. In the Cotton Belt during the first days of every new year, the roads are crowded with trucks, wagons, vehicles of all kinds, transferring the meager possessions of the families of cotton tenants and croppers from one plantation or farm to another. January first is moving day in the Cotton Belt—make no mistake about that. Some view the high mobility of tenants and croppers as the inevitable result of a vicious system of landlord, tenant, and cropper relationships. Others attribute it to an almost innate restlessness on the part of the "poor white" and negro, and consider their moving about from place to place a safety valve through which the tenant or cropper family lets off steam and keeps itself in a more happy and contented frame of mind. In any case, there is little doubt that this excessive moving from one place to another is disadvantageous to both the planters and their laborers, and that this mobility is one of the most blighting factors in the entire system of agriculture as practiced in the South. Because he must count upon heavy losses due to the discontent and shifting of his employees, the planter has had to charge rates for supplies and supervision that would cover his losses. Moving every few years, it is impossible for the family of tenants or croppers to accumulate goods or to establish and maintain any sort of satisfactory institutional and community life. These few remarks should make it evident that the effects of the AAA program upon mobility may be of considerable significance.

What have been the effects? On the basis of our general observation and from a rather intimate acquaintance with the South during the past, we are thoroughly convinced that the AAA cotton-reduction program has greatly curtailed the annual migration of families (tenants and croppers) from one plantation or farm to another. Bear in mind that the increased income from cotton has enabled the planter to be more generous in his advances to the families residing in his cabins and

tilling his lands. Remember also that the most undesirable tenants and croppers—i.e., the discontented ones who were forever on the move, and who were largely responsible for the book losses suffered by the planters and borne by all the families living on their places—were the first to go when forces were curtailed. In addition, the tenants and croppers know that if they leave their present location where they have a portion of their landlord's allotment of cotton assigned to them, they may not be able to find another place where a quota of cotton is to be had. Such we believe to be the factors which have reduced the numbers of trucks, cars, wagons, and vehicles of all sorts, which today (January 1, 1936) are to be found on southern roads, hauling the few household possessions of the families of tenants and croppers from one place to another.



# Notes

## DO VILLAGES GROW?

In Professor J. M. Gillette's recent revision of his *Rural Sociology*, he raises the question of village growth and decline and criticizes the findings on this subject of C. L. Fry's *American Villagers*, one of the volumes of the first study of the sociology of village-centered rural communities made by the Institute for Social and Religious Research under the direction of the writer of this note.

The subject is of importance chiefly from one point of view. If villages are becoming the focal point of rural social life, it would be unfortunate if this integration took place around a type of center that was doomed to decline. The writer has therefore attempted a brief critique of Professor Gillette's position in order to clarify the subject. The task has been rather difficult, for it is not always easy to follow Professor Gillette in his statements on this matter.

He defines villages (p. 565) as "places of less than 2500 . . . comprising populations of from 250 to 2500 each." In the next paragraph he states that there are "scores of thousands of villages," but in Table 48 (p. 571) he lists only 12,857 incorporated places and 18,381 as the total number of places listed by Rand McNally that fall within the village classification in 1920. Even this number of incorporated villages includes some 2,000 places of less than 250 population, which by Professor Gillette's own definition (p. 565) are hamlets, not villages.

Professor Gillette then takes the total incorporated village population of 1920 and compares it with that of 1930, showing a gain of 2.4 per cent. He says that "for that decade it was almost stationary." This is correct in terms of the aggregate of the population of incorporated villages. But here, as throughout his entire discussion, he fails to mention the places that happened to grow past the 2,500 mark. This is important in terms of the practical issue involved in the question. What the educator, wishing to locate a consolidated high school, or the manufacturer, desiring to secure local representatives to sell his goods to farmers, wants to know is the chance for the stability or growth of a village—not whether villages in the aggregate show little or no growth when those that grew past a certain limit are eliminated. Between 1910 and 1930 about 1,000 places that had been villages passed the 2,500 mark but in no sense changed their social and economic status by so doing.

Professor Gillette, therefore, finds a considerable increase in the rural nonfarm population but also and "at the same time a loss of population among a large proportion of villages" (p. 578). He rightly says "it is important to differentiate the two situations."

In an effort to answer this problem more precisely than had previously been possible, the rural division of President Hoover's Committee on Social Trends, in co-operation with the Institute for Social and Religious Research, employed a measure of village growth and decline by 100-person intervals. Thus, if a village of between 350 and 450 persons in 1910 remained in the same category in 1920, it was placed in the zero group. If it advanced into the next category, it was placed in a plus one group, or if it declined similarly, in a minus one group, and so on. This was done for the periods 1910-30, 1920-30, and 1910-20, with three size groups of villages, 250-999, 1,000-1,749 and 1,750-2,500.<sup>1</sup> The results for the years 1910-30 showed 24.7 per cent of the villages remaining in the same category, 51.9 per cent moving up one or more hundreds, and 23.4 per cent moving into lower categories; of this last group, 62 per cent went into the hundred group immediately below that originally occupied. The results for 1910-20 and 1920-30 were also published but need not be summarized here.

It should also be noted that this device gave a picture, not only of the total gain and loss by numbers of all villages but of the number of 100 intervals involved in population change. Thus of 1,405 incorporated villages, that in 1910 had between 250 and 349 inhabitants, 589 remained in that group. Two hundred and eighty-seven had between 350 and 449 population in 1930, 103 between 450 and 549, and one had passed the 2,600 mark. Conversely, 258 had dropped below 250 and 31 below 150. This same type of computation was carried out for each 100 group.

Strangely enough, though Professor Gillette quotes from *Rural Social Trends*, or refers to it, in a number of his chapters, he completely overlooks this rather elaborate study of village growth and decline in his discussion of that subject. Instead, he devotes himself to the first study of the Institute for Social and Religious Research on this subject by C. Fry. In view of the study briefly alluded to above, this might be passed over, except that to the present writer Professor Gillette seems to arrive at a fallacious conclusion through a misunderstanding of what Fry did. He states, "The import and spirit of their publications (i.e., The Institute's) give the impression that villages are growing rapidly and universally." Import and spirit are matters of interpretation. Attention may be directed to two items bearing on this point.

1. In summarizing the first series of rural village studies by the Institute, the present writer stated<sup>2</sup>

The village in the United States taken by and large is not declining. Individual villages have declined but the trend has been toward an increasing population except where villages are very close together. . . . Here especially since the advent of the automobile and hard surfaced road it appears

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brunner and Kolb, *Rural Social Trends* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933), chap. III and appendix tables 6 and 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Village Communities* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1927), p. 18.

there are too many villages. . . . Two villages in every five have remained virtually stationary in the last two census periods (1900-1920). This fact is one of the indications that there is an exodus of population from the agricultural village not always overbalanced by the natural increase and new residents.

2. Professor Gillette himself quotes Fry as showing that of all incorporated villages "42.7 per cent were stationary," that is, did not gain or lose as much as 20 per cent between 1900 and 1920.<sup>8</sup> Such statements do not seem to the writer to indicate that Fry and his colleagues claimed that villages were growing "universally."

Professor Gillette then goes on to say (p. 582) "My own figures indicate that 24 per cent of all incorporated places of the class under discussion lost population between 1900 and 1910 and that 36.7 per cent lost population during the next decade. . . . There are comparatively fewer places which lose during a 20 year period than during a 10 year period." Thus, Professor Gillette's study seems to confirm the conclusions of both the 1920 and 1930 studies by the Institute, that the tendency of the majority of American villages is toward either stability or growth, rather than his own that a growing proportion of villages tends toward "decay" (p. 581). The emphasis of the discussion in his first edition is shown by the title of Chapter XXI, "Declining Villages of America," and in the current revision he devotes 10 pages to the "decline and decadence" of American villages, and several to their backward health conditions, poor recreation, and low moral tone.

In fairness to Dr. Fry, one minor matter should be mentioned. Professor Gillette states, Fry "made his comparison on a 20 year basis, while I made mine for two 10 year periods within the same 20 years." Every table in Fry's *American Villagers* (pp. 46-54) dealing with this subject gives the data for the entire 20-year period and for each 10-year period separately. There are three summary tables on other pages which omit this, but the breakdown by decades of these tables is published in the pages noted.

In summary, the writer believes that Professor Gillette has overlooked the most recent data on the subject, that in the main his conclusions and those of Fry, Kolb, and the writer are in substantial agreement, that the agreement is concealed by Professor Gillette's emphasis on "decline and decay," and that the issue is worth clarification because of the practical aspects stated in the second paragraph of this note.

On the basis of facts presented in Professor Gillette's study and those directed by the writer, it appears that much, though not all, of the difference lies in

<sup>8</sup> Incidentally, what Professor Gillette writes is "42.7 per cent were stationary, that is, did not gain more than 20 per cent or did not lose less than 20 per cent." The double negative appears a bit confusing.

interpretation. Professor Gillette emphasizes the decline of villages. The Institute's study and *Rural Social Trends* emphasized growth and stability, which together accounted for well over two-thirds of the villages.

The majority of the villages growing most rapidly between 1920 and 1930 appear to be suburban. A majority of the rapidly declining centers in this period appear to be industrial, or mining, or lumbering. The pattern of the agricultural village seems to be slow growth or relative stability with a third and smaller group showing slow decline, especially among places of less than 750 population. However, the survey of *Rural Social Trends During the Depression*, in which the 140 village-centered agricultural communities that formed the basis of *American Agricultural Villages* and *Rural Social Trends* were restudied, showed sharp population increases in the village centers.

Columbia University

EDMUND DES. BRUNNER

### SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF SOIL EROSION

As erosion increases it is obvious that production demands more effort in both time and money. Erosion makes it more difficult for farmers to progress or even to hold their own. Increased effort and lack of progress are the first effects of erosion. Lack of time and lack of economic returns make it more difficult for rural people to maintain needed organizations and a satisfying social life. Town and village centers decay, and on the farms there usually rushes in a class of farm renters, who are considered undesirable by the older residents, move from place to place, mine the soil, and are irresponsible to the community.

Grown children in such families must leave home to find work because the head of the family can not save enough to retire and local employment is limited.

The influence of soil erosion on social organizations may be glimpsed from the survey of Davis County by the Iowa State Planning Board. "The general situation found in the county is one of social deterioration of social life, amounting almost to decadence, characterized by the general disorganization and disintegration of social life and social organizations. With the decline in size and importance of the smaller villages and hamlets, Davis has become a one-town county with the following services; weekly newspaper, bank, lodge, movie, high school, and junior college, men's and ladies' clothing stores and a jewelry store. Church life and organization have been deteriorating in the open country and in the hamlets while the churches in the county seat town have not absorbed the country losses. Fraternal organizations have been declining in the county seat town and disappearing in the rest of the county. Little or no equipment of playground of recreational nature is in evidence in rural schools."

Though true, it is not enough to say that soil erosion causes social disorganization. The resulting lack of organization and group spirit makes it impossible

for rural people to use organized means of solving their problems. Leaders and specialists working in such areas must deal with each farm family as a separate unit or must first help set up the organization through which erosion control is to be brought about. As erosion brings disorganization, it also makes it obviously more difficult to remedy erosion by organized means.

At the Iowa State College there is under way at present a research project, "Some Social Factors Associated with Land Utilization in Southern Iowa." This research, centered in the Tarkio demonstration area, includes analysis of population, social organization or community, and the family as they relate to this problem.

There is also under way a research analysis of the characteristics of all rural relief cases in selected counties, including Appanoose, Mahaska, Washington, Guthrie, Page, and Monona. This study will furnish a basis for determining the relation between soil erosion and rural relief.

A study of the movements of farm families is being made in about 25 townships in 15 Iowa counties. This study will furnish a basis for studying the relation between soil erosion, mobility, and tenure.

A survey of Muscatine Island distinctly shows the relation between social organization, type of farming and lack of income due to factors other than erosion. Further analysis of the data in the above studies will be needed to show clearly the relationships indicated.

Iowa State College

RAY E. WAKELEY

# Current Bulletins

*Charles P. Loomis*<sup>1</sup>

## POPULATION AND MIGRATION

Three bulletins showing population trends in as many states have been released recently.<sup>2</sup> In each of these three, materials have been collected from the federal and state censuses and presented in readily accessible form. In their analysis of population trends in Minnesota, R. W. Murchie, and M. E. Jarchow emphasize particularly the growth of the population as well as the national origins of the population in Minnesota. Emphasis also is laid on changes in interstate migration, rural-urban distribution, age and sex composition as they have developed during the history of the state.

The release by the South Dakota State Planning Board summarizes the growth of the population in South Dakota and emphasizes changes in sex, nationality, age and occupational composition, as well as births and deaths. In each of these bulletins, maps and charts are used freely. Many of the data are presented in tables by counties.

Little attempt is made to point out the relationships among the factors discussed in these bulletins. Changes in the size of the population of given areas could have been profitably discussed with reference to the prevailing rate of natural increase. A population which is growing at a rate less than the rate of natural increase is experiencing a net loss by migration, and conversely a population which is growing at a rate greater than the natural increase is experiencing net immigration. In the Minnesota bulletin there are tables showing net migration to other states of persons born in Minnesota, as well as net migrations of persons born in other states who moved to Minnesota. The one set of migration figures is secured by comparing the persons born within the state but living elsewhere at one census date, with persons born within the state and living elsewhere at another census date. It is clear that the difference between the figures does not represent net migration of persons born within the state, for during any period of time there must be some deaths within this group.

<sup>1</sup> This report was prepared with the assistance of E. deS. Brunner, Jr., J. J. Lister, Conrad Taeuber, and Helen Wheeler.

<sup>2</sup> R. W. Murchie and M. E. Jarchow, "Population Trends in Minnesota," *Bulletin No. 327*, University of Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station, University Farm, May, 1936, pp. 99; *The People of South Dakota, A Preliminary Study of Population*, South Dakota Planning Board, Brookings, South Dakota, June, 1936; Paul H. Landis, "Rural Population Trends in Washington," *Bulletin No. 333*, Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, Pullman, July, 1936, pp. 64.

The bulletin on "Rural Population Trends in Washington," by Paul H. Landis, places special emphasis on the rural as well as the agricultural population of the state. Considerable space is devoted to an analysis of trends in the state as compared with trends in the nation as a whole and the position of Washington among the 48 states. Washington is sixth among the states in ratio of males per 100 females, fortieth in per cent of persons under five years of age, and seventh in number of divorces per 100 of the population. The implications of changes in rates of natural increase and consequent changes in age composition, as well as the decreases in rates of population growth, are pointed out in some detail.

The bulletin on immigrants and their children in South Dakota, by John P. Johansen, presents in some detail the national origins of the immigrants who came to South Dakota between 1890 and 1930 and the effects of immigration upon the growth and composition of the population of the state.<sup>3</sup>

The State College of Agriculture at Corvallis, Oregon, has released two mimeographed bulletins<sup>4</sup> concerning migration to the state, as well as within the state. One of these bulletins is based on the records representing rural relief cases within the state and shows the extent of recent migration of rural families receiving relief. The other is a preliminary report on the study of the origin and distribution within the state of families who have come to rural districts since 1933. The data are based on questionnaires sent to clerks of the school districts throughout the state. On the basis of these findings it is planned that further studies of families who have recently come into Oregon from other states, particularly the drought states, will be made.

#### RURAL ORGANIZATIONS AND AGENCIES

A publication<sup>5</sup> on the sociology of the co-operative movement in the Czechoslovak village traces not only the co-operative activities of the community but presents an historical and geographic background for the development of the village, Sany. The Farmers' Reading and Social Society was of primary importance as an agency for the promulgation of co-operative principles. The Credit

<sup>3</sup> John P. Johansen, "Immigrants and Their Children in South Dakota," *Bulletin No. 302*, South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, Brookings, May, 1936, pp. 47.

<sup>4</sup> "Mobility and Migration of Rural Relief Households in Six Oregon Counties," the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and the Oregon Agricultural Experiment Station, co-operating, *Station Circular of Information No. 155*, June, 1936, pp. 6 (2). L. R. Breithaupt and C. S. Hoffman, "Preliminary Information Concerning Immigration into Rural Districts in Oregon, January, 1933, to June, 1936," the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and the Oregon Agricultural Experiment Station, co-operating, *Station Circular of Information No. 157*, August, 1936, pp. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Karel Galla, *Sociology of the Co-operative Movement in the Czechoslovak Village*, Charles University, Docent, and published in Praha, Karlova Nain 32, Czechoslovakia, 1936, pp. 124.

Society, Farmers' Co-operative, and the Agricultural Machinery Co-operative have actually become the life and soul of the village, which was all but primitive up to the nineties of the last century. Now the community has a modern co-operative chicory drying plant, flour mill, bakery, and bathhouse. The Credit Society is a boon to those who need money for business, and it is also used when marriages, funerals, and other social events require funds beyond those in the possession of families directly concerned. Produce is sold, and machinery, live-stock, and other consumers' goods are purchased through co-operative agencies. In fact, the agricultural village has become a small industrialized but rural village. The material prosperity which has attended the expansion and development of the co-operative activities is pronounced. Home ownership has become much more prevalent, the number of houses in the village has more than doubled, bread baking is practically all done in the co-operative bakery, electricity is made available for those who can afford it, and the material level of living has been greatly enhanced. The author maintains that this rationalization has not been accompanied by additional social conflicts. In fact, it is claimed that co-operative endeavor has eliminated many differences and welded the group into a more conscious whole.

To measure the effectiveness of 4-H club work and the factors influencing the membership of boys and girls, a series of six tests was given to 2,301 boys and girls between the ages of 10 and 20 years, living in 60 Illinois communities.\* Indices were devised to ascertain the influence of club membership upon organizational participation and winning of prizes in competition. The findings disclose that members are drawn from homes having more social and economic advantages than the homes of nonmembers, and that boys from larger farms joined in relatively greater numbers than those from smaller farms, although the latter does not hold true for girls. Other factors influencing membership are the parents' favorable attitude toward desirable social activities, and the extent of the parents' participation in organizational and social activities. Boys and girls who liked farm life joined more frequently than those who did not. Ascendance-submission tests indicate that while the girls' 4-H clubs tend to attract the girls who are more ascendant than the average, the boys' clubs seemingly do not exercise any greater attraction for ascendant boys than for those who are submissive. An I. Q. test reveals that intelligence is not an important influencing factor in selectivity. Graphic methods are used in presentation of data.

\* D. E. Lindstrom and W. M. Dawson, "Selectivity of 4-H Club Work—An Analysis of Factors Influencing Membership," *Bulletin No. 426*, Illinois Agricultural Experiment Station, Urbana, 1936. Pp. 247-278.



A study of rural social organization in Fairfield County, Ohio,<sup>7</sup> in which more than one-half of the 25,294 rural inhabitants dwell on farms and one-fourth live in incorporated villages, indicated that 12 trade centers contained 86 per cent of the rural business establishments located in the county, and that 70 per cent of the total area of the county which was included in their service areas contained 68 per cent of the entire open-country population of the county. Participation of individuals in groups in the centers and in the open country outside the centers was studied.

When these groups were classified according to place of meeting, it was found that 61% met in the 12 major rural trade centers, 10% in the 25 minor centers, and 29% in the open country outside any center. The number of social groups meeting in the center increased directly as the size of the center measured in terms of population or number of business establishments. . . . Considering the number of rural social groups in relation to the rural population, the trade centers were best supplied . . . . The total number of memberships in the rural social groups of the county averaged 166 for every 100 persons in the rural population. . . . 77% of all rural groups in the county met either at the 12 major rural trade centers or within the limits of their service areas. . . . Of the open country memberships in rural social groups, 60% consisted of memberships in groups meeting in the 12 major trade centers, 25% consisted of memberships in groups meeting in the service area of those centers, and 15% were memberships in groups meeting elsewhere.

Graphic methods are used in the form of maps and charts.

An analysis of the local government in Tompkins County, New York,<sup>8</sup> describes the structure of the governmental organization of the town, county, village, city, special-district, and school administrations. Trends and taxes for these various units are studied as well as the expenditures and costs of government. Changes suggested are: that town and county protection functions be transferred to the state police; that the county collect all taxes; that taxes be paid by installment; that a county board of assessment and review be established; that corporation and special-franchise property be assessed by the State Tax Commission; that budget systems be established for all units; that the fee system be abolished; that the county treasurer be appointed to act as custodian of all local units; and that certain town functions be transferred to the county.

<sup>7</sup> C. E. Lively, R. C. Smith, and Martha Fry, "Some Aspects of Rural Social Organization in Fairfield County, Ohio," *Mimeographed Bulletin No. 91*, Ohio State University Department of Rural Economics and Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, Columbus, July, 1936, pp. 11 (20).

<sup>8</sup> T. N. Hurd, "Local Government in Tompkins County, New York," *Bulletin No. 657*, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, 1936, pp. 44.

A recent Cornell bulletin presents data on the intensity of use of rural highways<sup>9</sup> in New York and also on farmers' estimates of how farm values are affected by the location of farms with respect to roads of various types of surface. A brief history of the development of New York highways and of the administration of their construction and maintenance is given. Material for the analysis of traffic was collected during 1934 by observation at selected crossroads stationed on state, county, and town highways. This material is tabulated to show intensity of traffic on these highways at different hours, days, and seasons, according to the origin and type of the traffic, especially with reference to Tompkins County. It was found that traffic was heavier in 1934 than in 1926-1927, the time of a previous survey, that commercial traffic had increased in intensity relatively faster than any other type during this period, and that in 1934 the majority of all vehicles were of local origin and belonged to residents of the county in which the survey was made. This was true to a greater degree than in 1926-1927.

In 1935, questionnaires were mailed to farmers living on dirt roads, on gravelled roads, and on hard-surfaced roads, and by this means estimates were collected on the relation between farm values and the type of road surface available to farms. Tabulation of the data revealed that all farmers are of the opinion that proximity to better roads means higher farm values and that proximity to poorer roads means lower farm values. The only and inescapable conclusion to which is—it would be nice if all farms were served by hard-surfaced roads. This happy condition, however, might leave each individual farm in the same relative position, economically, that it now occupies. But over and above their effect on financial values, improved roads would facilitate the participation of farmers in social and community life.

The adequacy of public library service,<sup>10</sup> particularly in rural areas, is the problem discussed by two bulletins, one from Missouri, the other from South Dakota. Data in the Missouri bulletin were secured from schedules sent to librarians. Population figures were taken from the 1930 Census. Material for the South Dakota bulletin was secured from various sources, including the State Library Commission. Some field work was also done.

More than 90 per cent of the rural people in these states do not have public libraries available to them, while almost all the urban population enjoys their facilities. During the worst years of the depression, reading apparently was a more popular pastime than ordinarily, and heavier demands were made upon

<sup>9</sup> W. M. Curtiss, "Use and Value of Highways in Rural New York," *Bulletin No. 636*, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, 1936, pp. 30.

<sup>10</sup> E. L. Morgan and Melvin W. Sneed, "The Libraries of Missouri, A Survey of Facilities," *Research Bulletin No. 236*, Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station, Columbia, 1936, pp. 94; and W. F. Kumlien, "Public Library Service in South Dakota," *Bulletin No. 301*, South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, Brookings, 1936, pp. 32.

existing libraries at a time when they were most handicapped by financial difficulties. Even during relatively prosperous years, public libraries, especially those not supported by taxes, have their usefulness impaired by lack of funds. The reimbursement offered to librarians is necessarily low, often too low to attract men and women of suitable training and experience. While public libraries are inadequate in number, poorly financed, and lacking in personnel with proper qualifications, the demand for their services has greatly increased in the past decade. In both Missouri and South Dakota, State Library Commissions are attempting, among other things, to supplement the limited services of public libraries while attempts are being made to solve the problem. In Missouri, the Commission has suggested that it become "The coordinating unit for a proposed regional system of state libraries, deposit stations, and book trunk service." On the other hand, the author of the South Dakota bulletin believes that the solution in his state may rest in the establishment of a system of county libraries, which would serve areas large enough to support them properly and would at the same time provide better facilities for more people.

The Missouri bulletin is rather long and presents an extensive survey of all types of library service in that state with emphasis on that rendered by public libraries. Tables and charts are plentiful, and aid in clarifying points made by the authors. The South Dakota bulletin is the shorter of the two and less ambitious in its scope.

#### FARM LABOR

*Migratory Labor in California*<sup>11</sup> is the title of a publication of the California Relief Administration.

The bulletin discusses the agricultural development in California, the source of labor supply, the methods employed in keeping an available labor supply, the problems resulting, and the remedies that have been attempted, from the gold rush to the present. Statistical material was received by the State Relief Administration, field division, from members of its staff in 10 counties, reporting 775 California agricultural workers who applied for relief during the months of December, 1935, and January, 1936. Included are the residential and occupational histories of migratory families who were on the state relief rolls at the time of the study and seemed typical for this relief group.

The average number of months of employment for the group was 7.5 months in 1930 and 5.9 months in 1935. The average yearly earnings for 1930 were \$381, for 1935, \$289. . . . . The earnings do not represent the earnings of one person, but are the total amounts earned by the family group. . . . . The heads of the agricultural families studied were, on

<sup>11</sup> State Relief Administration of California, Division of Special Surveys, *Migratory Labor in California*, (San Francisco, California, 1936). Pp. 224.

the whole, at the age of their best working years; almost half of the group were between 25 and 44 years. The most frequent age group was 25 through 34 years.

The most complete bibliography of American agricultural labor<sup>12</sup> in existence has been prepared by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Contributions are classified according to established categories. Abstracts of most of the 1,746 entries are included.

#### PART-TIME FARMING STUDIES

Three surveys<sup>13</sup> of part-time farming give chief consideration to the economics of this movement, although some attention is devoted to the sociological aspects, especially as regards the attitudes and aptitudes of the part-time farmer. The Cornell study, based on 3,128 schedules, is the most comprehensive and reveals to a greater extent the sociological implications of the garden-city movement.

The part-time farmer usually enjoys a higher standard of living than he would in the city and often one equivalent or superior to that of the full-time farmer. The Cornell survey shows that 81 per cent of the part-time farmers interviewed feel that their present location is desirable and preferable to living in the city or elsewhere in the country. A significant point developed by the Delaware study is that "the less the number of facilities contained in the house the larger the number of times that the chief disadvantage given by the wife was lack of social contacts." Although financial considerations were given by the part-time farmer as the outstanding advantage of living in the country, he nevertheless attached great importance to the natural benefits of rural life. According to the New York survey, 75 per cent of the part-time farmers are laborers, 34 per cent of them unskilled; 75 per cent are not educated beyond the eighth grade; 44 per cent were reared on farms; and more than 87 per cent are American-born. There is a relatively high degree of participation in the activities and organizations of the rural community by the part-time farmer. With one or two reservations most full-time farmers favor the part-time farming movement.

<sup>12</sup> "Agricultural Labor in the United States, 1915-1935," *Agricultural Economics Bibliography*, No. 64. A selected list of references, compiled by Esther M. Colvin and Josiah C. Folsom, under the direction of Mary G. Lacy, Librarian, Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Mimeographed. Washington, D. C., 1935. Pp. 493.

<sup>13</sup> Kenneth Hood, "An Economic Study of Part-Time Farming in the Elmira and Albany Areas of New York, 1932 and 1933," *Bulletin No. 647*, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, 1936, pp. 139; F. V. Smith and O. G. Lloyd, "Part-Time Farming in Indiana," *Bulletin No. 410*, Purdue University Agricultural Experiment Station, Lafayette, 1936, pp. 28; and M. M. Daugherty, "Part-Time Farming in New Castle County, Delaware," *Bulletin No. 199*, Delaware Agricultural Experiment Station, Newark, 1936, pp. 24.

## SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE DROUGHT AREA

There are now available five additional reports<sup>14</sup> on agricultural economic conditions in the Midwestern drought counties, which were studied in the spring of 1935 by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the Department of Agriculture co-operating with the Division of Social Research of the Works Progress Administration. Reports on four sample counties in the drought area already have been published, and reports on the remaining four counties surveyed are in preparation.

The survey of the counties was undertaken to determine the basic causes of the widespread rural distress in the drought-stricken areas, with the ultimate purpose of assisting in the development of rehabilitation programs adapted to the different areas. In these bulletins, data of a nonsociological nature predominate.

## GENERAL TOPICS

A Wisconsin bulletin<sup>15</sup> states that "Social planning is feasible for Wisconsin. . . . Policies for rehabilitation and social security of the under privileged and unfortunates must be coordinated in future plans for effective uses of available resources."

Working from this premise, the authors have assembled information which may be used as a guide to the development of a co-ordinated plan for effective utilization of available resources, not only in Wisconsin but also in other states and even regions of the United States, based on data from Regional Planning Reports; Crop Reporting Service, Relief Administration, and Agricultural Extension Service bulletins; and reports by other agencies. Eighty-one maps and charts are presented and discussed in the bulletin.

<sup>14</sup> H. M. Pevehouse, "Natural and Economic Factors which Affect Rural Rehabilitation on the North Plains of Texas (as typified by Dallam County, Texas)," *Resettlement Administration, Research Bulletin K-5*, July, 1936, pp. 44 (4); H. M. Pevehouse, "Natural and Economic Factors which Affect Rural Rehabilitation in the High Plains Area of Eastern Colorado (as typified by Cheyenne County, Colorado)," *Resettlement Administration, Research Bulletin K-6*, July, 1936, pp. 38 (2); H. L. Stewart, "Natural and Economic Factors Affecting Rural Rehabilitation Problems in Northwestern North Dakota and Northeastern Montana (as typified by Divide County, North Dakota)," *Resettlement Administration, Research Bulletin K-7*, August, 1936, pp. 42 (2); H. L. Stewart, "Natural and Economic Factors Affecting Rural Rehabilitation in Central North Dakota (as typified by Sheridan County, North Dakota)," *Resettlement Administration, Research Bulletin K-8*, August, 1936, pp. 38 (4); H. L. Stewart, "Natural and Economic Factors Affecting the Possibility of Closer Settlement in the Red River Valley of Eastern North Dakota (as typified by Traill County, North Dakota)," *Resettlement Administration, Research Bulletin K-9*, September, 1936, pp. 30 (2).

<sup>15</sup> E. L. Kirkpatrick and Agnes M. Boynton, *Wisconsin's Human and Physical Resources, A Graphic Presentation of Conditions Affecting Rural Rehabilitation*, Research Section, Resettlement Administration, Region II, Madison, July, 1936, pp. 173.

A comprehensive study<sup>16</sup> of the mobility of rural school teachers is made on the basis of 2,118 responses to a questionnaire circulated by mail in 15 Pennsylvania counties. The survey covers the six-year period from 1924 through 1929. Two major points are treated in the study, namely, the nature of the movement and the causes of the movement. The findings reveal that the graded-school type of teacher is the most stable, while teachers of the one-room school, as a type, are the most mobile. The high school teachers' annual rate of mobility lies between that of the teachers in one-room schools and the general graded-school. "Stated differently, twelve of every 31 rural teachers move annually, nine within the profession and three from the profession. Also one of every two teachers of the one-room-school type moves annually, three of every eleven of the graded-school type, and three of every eight of the high school type, move annually." Three reasons for movement within the profession are, in the order of their frequency: "'Board moved me to another position,' 'To live at home,' and 'An increase in salary.'" Withdrawal from the profession, among all types of rural teachers, is primarily for the purpose of marriage, one out of every four resigning for this reason. One teacher out of every five withdraws to attend college, and one of every eight because of illness. The study concludes with remedial suggestions.

A general, social, and economic survey<sup>17</sup> of a soil-conservation area in West Virginia involved interviewing 772 farm families in an area of 152,000 acres of land in Roane and Wirt counties, West Virginia, chosen because of the serious erosion problems there and because the people were willing to co-operate. Twenty-six tables accompany the discussion. The number of farms and the total population were found to have decreased since 1900. Ninety-four of the farms in the Spencer area were operated by owners. The majority of the 743 farmhouses were in bad condition. The number of children per farm family was 4.1, but an average of 5.58 persons lived in the operator's household at the time of the survey. Only 20 of the 772 farm operators had not been born and reared on a farm. Of the 814 sons and 713 daughters of farm operators 21 years of age or married, 41 per cent of the boys and 47 per cent of the girls had left the area; only about one-third of the sons who had left home were engaged in farming and about the same percentage of the daughters had married farmers.

A bulletin from Washington State<sup>18</sup> reports (1) the emergency relief trends

<sup>16</sup> William F. Hall, "The Professional Movement of Rural School Teachers in Pennsylvania," *Bulletin No. 332*, Pennsylvania Agricultural and Experiment Station, State College, 1936, pp. 64.

<sup>17</sup> F. D. Cornell, Jr., "A Social and Economic Survey of the Spencer Soil-Conservation Area," *Bulletin No. 269*, West Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station, Morgantown, 1936, pp. 36.

<sup>18</sup> Paul H. Landis, Mae Pritchard, and Melvin Brooks, "Rural Emergency Relief in Washington, with Attention to Characteristics of Rural Relief Households," *Bulletin No. 334*, Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, Pullman, June, 1936. Pp. 39.

during the critical period, 1933 to 1935, in Washington as compared to the nation; (2) an analysis of relief data on characteristics of relief households; and (3) a summary of preliminary data comparing relief with nonrelief farm laborers in the Yakima Valley. In the Yakima Valley, relief families are more mobile; they have larger family responsibilities, with approximately one-third more children under 15 years of age. Heads of relief households have less formal education than nonrelief families. Relief households are nearer the economic margin, having less income per year and fewer days' labor.

Of 60 families which were referred for rehabilitation to the Resettlement Administration by the Pinal County<sup>19</sup> Board of Public Welfare in Arizona during February, March, and April, 1936, 23 were considered as good prospects for rehabilitation; 12 were probable prospects if provided with continued supervision; and 18 were considered incapable of rehabilitation. The remaining seven had no rural background and were little interested in rehabilitation. Eighteen of these families received no relief prior to 1935. Twenty-four families received their first relief during 1934. The survey of families included an analysis of the composition of household, the mobility of the household, the employment history of the head of the household, and the relief history of the household. An estimate was made of the level of living maintained by the household before the depression and comparison was made with the present status of the family.

"Farm Youth in the United States" is the title of a bibliography<sup>20</sup> published by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. There are 461 classified entries, most of which are abstracted or summarized. Also there is a list of agencies interested in rural youth.

During the last quarter there have also appeared a considerable number of mimeographed bulletins and circulars dealing with a variety of topics which interest the rural sociologist. Among them are the following:

Olaf F. Larson and John E. Wilson, "Social Security and Rural Relief in Colorado," *Research Bulletin No. 2*, Colorado Agricultural Experiment Station, Fort Collins, and Research Division, Federal Works Progress Administration, 1936. Pp. 12 (1).

"Summary and Analysis of Applicants for Rural Rehabilitation in Fourteen Counties," the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and Oregon Agri-

<sup>19</sup> *Spot Survey of Sixty Families Referred for Rehabilitation to the Resettlement Administration by Pinal County Board of Public Welfare*, University of Arizona Agricultural Experiment Station, Social Research Division of the Works Progress Administration, Rural Rehabilitation Division of Resettlement Administration and Pinal County Board of Public Welfare co-operating. June, 1936, pp. 32 (1).

<sup>20</sup> "Farm Youth in the United States," *Agricultural Economics Bibliography*, No. 65. A selected list of references to literature issued since October, 1926, compiled by Esther M. Colvin, under the direction of Mary G. Lacy, Librarian, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Mimeographed, Washington, D. C., June, 1936. Pp. 196 (4).

- cultural Experiment Station, Corvallis, co-operating, *Station Circular of Information No. 154*, June, 1936, pp. 12.
- "Age, Sex, Residence and Occupation of Rural Relief Population in Six Counties in Oregon," the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and Oregon Agricultural Experiment Station, Corvallis, co-operating, *Station Circular of Information No. 156*, July, 1936, pp. 7.
- W. C. Holley and C. E. Ullrich, under supervision of L. P. Gabbard, "Education of Heads and Children in the Texas Rural and Town Relief Population October, 1935 (28 Sample Counties)," Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, Federal Works Progress Administration and Texas Relief Commission, co-operating, *Preliminary Report No. 2*, June, 1936, pp. 13.
- Olaf F. Larson and John E. Wilson, "Survey of Applicants for WPA Aid, Weld County, Colorado, February, 1936," Colorado Agricultural Experiment Station, Fort Collins, Rural Research Section, Research Division, Federal Works Progress Administration, co-operating, March, 1936, pp. 10.
- Robert E. Rapp, and others, "An Analysis of Reasons for Opening and Closing Rural Relief Cases in Twelve California Counties," Rural Research Section, Division of Social Research, Federal Works Progress Administration and California State Relief Administration, co-operating, *Rural Research Bulletin No. 1*, August, 1936, pp. 69.
- "Survey of Rural Education in North Dakota," Federal Emergency Relief Administration for North Dakota, *North Dakota Relief Series No. 2*. Pp. 45.
- Charles E. Allred, B. H. Luebke, and Charles A. Tosch, "Mobility of Rural Relief Families in Tennessee," *Report No. 14*, Tennessee Agricultural Experiment Station, Federal Works Progress Administration, and Tennessee Works Progress Administration, co-operating, June, 1936, pp. 35.
- Charles E. Allred, William E. Hendrix, B. D. Raskopf, "Regional Comparison of Rural Standards of Living in Tennessee," *Report No. 15*, Tennessee Agricultural Experiment Station, Federal Works Progress Administration, and Tennessee Works Progress Administration, co-operating, June, 1936. Pp. 36.
- Charles E. Allred, William E. Hendrix, B. D. Raskopf, "Farm Tenancy in Tennessee," *Report No. 17*, University of Tennessee Agricultural Experiment Station, Knoxville, July, 1936, pp. 31.
- Chas. E. Allred and J. C. Powell, "Consumption of Dairy Products and Eggs in Rural Tennessee, with Regional Comparisons," *Report No. 19*, University of Tennessee Agricultural Experiment Station, Knoxville, August, 1936, pp. 22.
- Chas. E. Allred, and J. C. Powell, "Consumption of Vegetative Foods in Rural Tennessee, with Regional Comparisons," *Report No. 20*, University of



Tennessee Agricultural Experiment Station, Knoxville, September, 1936, pp. 33.

*Regional Planning*, Part I—Pacific Northwest, National Resources Committee, May, 1936, pp. 192.

*Regional Planning*, Part II—St. Louis Region, National Resources Committee, June, 1936, pp. 68.

*Regional Planning*, Part III—New England, National Resources Committee, July, 1936, pp. 101.

## Book Reviews

*Studies of Differential Fertility in Sweden*, Stockholm Economic Studies, No. 4.

By Karl Arvid Edin and Edward P. Hutchinson. London: P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 1935. Pp. 116.

This work by Edin, of the University of Stockholm and the Swedish Central Statistical Board, and Hutchinson, instructor in sociology at Harvard, is an analysis of differential fertility, both rural and urban, in a country in which the lower classes, at least in Stockholm (the chief city), have reduced their fertility rates below those of the upper classes. The validity of the data is unquestioned, since the registration of births, deaths, and marriages has been rather carefully done in Sweden since 1686. The first section of the work summarizes differential fertility in the Mälar counties, the five counties around Stockholm, for 1930 and 1931. This rural region represents the most urbanized and industrialized portion of rural Sweden. In these counties confinements per annum per 1,000 married women, aged 15 to 44, declined from 267 to 142 in the past 50 years, a reduction greater than the average for all Sweden or for its entire rural districts, but less than the average for its urban districts. The decline is most noticeable for the groups of women 30 years of age or more, indicating that the one- and two-child family is rapidly becoming dominant in the less isolated rural districts. The reduction is especially significant because among the agriculturists, as contrasted with the rural nonagriculturists and with the urban population generally, a higher proportion of the women of child-bearing age were married. However, the more urban communities had higher proportions of potential mothers (women of child-bearing age). Among the agriculturists, the farm laborers still had higher fertility rates than the upper classes (landowners and renters or entrepreneurs). The more rural of the Mälar communities show less differences in fertility between the agriculturists and the nonagriculturists, and between the agricultural laborers and the agricultural entrepreneurs. In Stockholm, based on analyses of all the families living in greater Stockholm, December 31, 1920, and a representative sample for whom records were available from 1917 to 1930, fertility was lower in the lower classes and greater in the upper classes, no matter whether these classes were defined in terms of income, occupation, or education. The population was divided into those with income less than Kr. 4,000, Kr. 4,000-6,000, Kr. 6,000-10,000, and above Kr. 10,000. These groups covered, respectively, the unskilled laborers, the skilled laborers, the moderately well-to-do, and the wealthy. The professions were also ranked, beginning with the industrial workers and ending with the higher groups. Educational classifications were made corresponding to our grammar school, our high school, and our colleges and professional schools. In every

case the lower classes had fewer children. Their wives bore fewer children, particularly after 30 years of age, which fact was not connected with temporary or postwar demographic changes. An Appendix on the relative fertility of the Swedish clergy showed that their rates were 50 per cent greater than those of the most fertile group of Stockholm families.

The work is carefully done. All the statistical details are clearly summarized either in the text or in the Appendix. It is evident that Sweden is to be classified among the countries characterized by Corrado Gini as "demographically exhausted." Standard birth rates are below replacement requirements. In Stockholm, between 1917 and 1930, the average family of the lower classes had about 1.2 children, in the first 10 years of marriage, and the middle and the upper classes about 1.5. The reduction in the average size of family has been greatest in the cities and among the nonagricultural population, and least in the rural districts and among the noncommercial population.

This work should be studied by everyone who is interested in rural sociology in America because abundant data, which now exist, indicate that we have been moving very rapidly toward, if we have not already attained, the same condition in the United States of America. This work is being distributed in the United States by the Population Association of America, Washington, D. C. The chief criticism which the reviewer has of the work is that the authors do not deal with the sociological implications of the problem in the demographic situation which they outline. The serious implications of these observations are obvious. Faced with the apparent alternative of larger families or a higher standard of living (spending money and time on themselves or upon children), the residents of Stockholm have chosen a rigorous limitation of the number of births. The findings of Edin and Hutchinson suggest that the traditional reservoir of population, the country, is also becoming infected with this antifamilistic attitude. If this is true, the probable results in terms of demographic (and cultural) exhaustion are only too apparent. This, then, is the demographic concomitant of what recent American best sellers have termed Sweden's "middle way."

Harvard University

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

*Migration and Planes of Living 1920-1934.* By Carter Goodrich, Bushrod W. Allin, and Marion Hayes. Illustrated with maps by C. Warren Thornthwaite and Helen I. Slentz. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935. Pp. viii, 111. \$1.00 (paper cover).

This publication is Bulletin Number Two of the Study of Population Redistribution undertaken by the Industrial Research Department, Wharton School of Finance and Commerce of the University of Pennsylvania. The first bulletin

in this series was *Internal Migration in the United States*, by C. Warren Thornthwaite.<sup>1</sup>

This bulletin differs from the first in two respects: (1) it brings the analysis of internal migration beyond 1930 to 1934 (using school census data), and (2) it "undertakes a part of the riskier task of appraising the human serviceability of migration" (p. 2). What the authors have tried to do in this phase of the Population Redistribution Study is briefly this: They have constructed a very crude index of "levels of living," based upon the relative numbers of radios, telephones, and income tax returns by counties in the United States. Using this index, together with data on agricultural incomes, relief population, farm wage rates, retail sales, and some other general statistical data, the authors have, through informal statistical and graphic methods, attempted to show the relation between migration and levels of living.

Allowing for some exceptions, the authors found that during the 1920's population moved from regions of low living levels to regions of high levels; that within regions, the urban-industrial centers attracted population from surrounding areas; and, finally, that during the depression, population migrated back to the poorer regions; e.g., such regions as the Kentucky and West Virginia highlands and the Michigan cutover country. Although the authors concede that the migrants back to the poorer areas could see no other alternative, they apparently feel that some sort of social policy should be developed "not to reduce human mobility but to make use of it and to give it surer direction and guidance."

The authors make two other important points. "If," they say, "migration is thought of as a device for correcting maldistribution of population and equalizing economic opportunity, it is clear that that task is far from accomplished." Then again, direction and stimulation of migration are not the only remedy for maldistribution of population in relation to natural resources. Better management of resources and the movement of industries to the people might prove even more desirable than migration, it is suggested.

I am somewhat critical of the general method as well as the point of view of this study. Plane of living, after all, is only one aspect of a complex set of social, economic, and psychological factors related to migration. A monograph might just as well have been written on the relation of migration to any one of these many factors: natural increase, land values, soil types, farm tenancy, types of farming, education, industrial development, and so on. In other words, this bulletin being a major phase of the larger study places by implication, at least, undue emphasis upon one factor and its relation to migration.

The method of lumping all counties together in the calculation of indices of

<sup>1</sup> Reviewed by the author of this review in the *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, October, 1935.

planes of living, it is felt, was a mistake. It has been found, for instance, that this procedure actually obscures the relationship between such factors as land values and farm tenancy. In other words, it might have been the better procedure to have calculated a separate plane-of-living index for each major region of the United States. The fact that a family owns a radio in the remote rural areas may be much more highly related to *plane of living* than would be true in one of the many semiurban areas of the North. Further, the plane-of-living index, given such a prominent place in this study, and based, as it is, upon telephones, radios, and income tax returns, is actually more nearly an index of *urbanization* than plane of living. It would have been just as logical to have included milk cows in the index of plane of living of urban areas as to have included radios in the index for rural areas. Approximately four-fifths of the families in a "low level," "poor," rural mountain county<sup>2</sup> possessed milk cows, and many of them would have had radios if the electric lines had been available. The fact is: the migrants returned to this area because they had formerly lived there, and they knew that plenty of sweet milk, corn bread, as well as hundreds of cans of beans, meats, and berries, awaited their return. True the area is "overpopulated," but the same may be said of many of the "richer" areas where only cold cash speaks a language understood by grocery store and toilet, alike.

These critical remarks should not be taken as applicable to the entire bulletin. The authors have done some valuable exploratory and experimental work in the study of human migration. They fully realize that they were undertaking "part of the riskier task of appraising the human serviceability of migration." Population students of America are indebted to the authors of *Migration and Planes of Living* for the explorations and risky appraisals which they have made. It is hoped that this study will be followed by careful field studies in a large number of small rural and urban areas to discover the real and tangible factors involved in human migration.

Texas A. and M. College

C. HORACE HAMILTON

*Rural Sociology*. By John Morris Gillette. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. Pp. xxxiv, 778.

In the past, what may be styled a "nurse-maid" approach has been widespread in rural sociology as in other social sciences. The first two editions of Gillette's *Rural Sociology* seem to the writer to be permeated with advice for the immediate solution of social maladjustments. Since his text was one of the earliest and has been so widely used, especially in the smaller colleges and universities, it has gone a long way in promoting this approach. For this reason it is important to note that the third revised edition of his *Rural Sociology* is practically a new book. It is new in content and organization and represents what Gillette con-

<sup>2</sup> Avery County, North Carolina.

siders an abandonment of his former position. The reviewer regards this as fortunate, since the book is so widely used as a text.

Gillette's style of presentation is readily comprehended by beginning students. His "attention points" in the present volume, given in connection with the charts and tables, are an innovation of considerable merit, calling attention to the most significant points in the tables and charts.

Gillette's name has long been associated with the hypothesis of village decline. The studies of the Institute of Social and Religious Research have contradicted his position, without pointing out, however, the fallacy in his reasoning. To him the fact that 43.4 per cent of the villages under 2,500 in size lost population between 1920 and 1930 is evidence of village decline. Is not the fact that 56.8 per cent of these villages gained population evidence of village growth? The writer believes Gillette's own data are properly interpreted as evidence of growth, not decline.

The contents of this volume comprise five parts: Rural Society and Rural Sociology; Ecological Conditions; Biosocial Conditions; Socio-Cultural Conditions; and Rural-Urban Relations. These divisions are developed comprehensively for a work of this character, and the use of facts as a basis for the description of the characteristics and processes of rural sociology is given special emphasis.

A noteworthy achievement in this volume is its sociological emphasis. This is particularly significant, since in the past so much writing styled as rural sociology has been of a sentimental, sympathetic sort, the aim apparently being to reform rural social life in accordance with the opinion of what it ought to be in the mind of the writer. The third edition of Gillette's *Rural Sociology*, therefore, is well adapted for use as a text in colleges and universities. It is a distinct improvement over the two previous editions.

Louisiana State University

E. H. LOTT

*A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology.* By Pitirim A. Sorokin, Carle C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin. University of Minnesota Press. 3 volumes 1930, 1931, 1932. Pp. V. I xx, 645; V. II. xiv, 677; V. III. xii, 752.

The announcement by the University of Minnesota Press of a reduction in price from \$15.00, the original price, to \$7.50 constitutes real news for those sociologists who have not already acquired this classic reference. It is justification also for further notice of this work in the journals, even though many of them have already reviewed it since the publication of the three volumes in 1930, 1931, and 1932.

The organization of the 2,000 pages of material in the Source Book falls into five parts as follows:

Part I, *Historical Introduction*, deals with "theories and opinions created in the societies that have known at least the beginnings of city growth and rural-urban differentiation" (1:5). Included in the discussion and the "readings" are the Orient, Greece and Rome, Arabia, and Europe before the nineteenth century. The origin and characteristics of rural-urban differentiation are discussed in Chapters III and IV.

Part II, *Rural Social Organization in its Ecological and Morphological Aspects*, is treated under the following chapter headings: Ecology of the Rural Habitat, Differentiation of the Rural Population into Cumulative Communities and Functional Associations, Social Stratification of the Agricultural Population, Mobility of the Rural Population, and Fundamental Types of Rural Aggregates.

Part III, *Rural Social Organization in its Institutional, Functional, and Cultural Aspects*, pre-empt's volume II. Material herein covers the family, church, school, economic institutions, rural social pathology, recreation and art, and political institutions.

Part IV, *Physical, Vital, and Psycho-Social Traits of Farmers and Peasants*, includes material on health, vital statistics, and psychological characteristics of rural people.

Part V, *Rural-Urban Social Relationships*, includes chapters on A Comparison of Farmer-Peasants and Other Social Classes, Rural-Urban Migrations, and Fundamental Functions of the City and Country in the Life History of Nations and of Mankind.

The work is much more than a collection of readings. The interpretative introductions to the chapters taken together constitute a treatise on rural sociology. Indeed, at the new price at which the work is now offered it is feasible to use it as a textbook for advanced courses. For the young scholar entering upon advanced work in rural sociology, it is doubtful that there is any other work so indispensable to his career; and certainly none which will yield the dividends per unit of investment which this will do.

With its excellent index, citing some 1,500 names, and several hundred subjects, the work is a veritable encyclopedia. Authors from practically all the nations of Europe, Asia, and North America, and materials from all the continents have been drawn together in these volumes. The value of this work is by no means limited to students of rural sociology. Whether one is interested primarily in population studies or the origin and evolution of property or a host of other subjects in social science, he will be able to find here important references for his use.

It seems fair to say that American students, with a few exceptions, are not as familiar as they might be with foreign literature. Facility in the use of foreign languages is not developed in the public schools, and those students who attain this facility do so out of sheer passion for the larger world-thought contacts.

Only a few of the workers have the energy and devotion to the science sufficient to break down these lingual barriers and establish connections with foreign thought. This *Source Book*, therefore, in providing in English translation classic writings of other countries, constitutes an effective agency for overcoming or preventing the provincialism which would otherwise be more or less inevitable.

Utah State Agricultural College

LOWRY NELSON

*Il fattore demografico nell'organizzazione sociale dei Bantu.* By Enrico H. Sonnabend. Rome: Arti Grafiche Zamperini e Lorenzini, 1935. Pp. 414. Lire 37.

This work constitutes Volume III in the first series of monographs prepared under the auspices of the Italian Committee for the Study of Population Problems. Above all else, it is a monograph which demands careful consideration as an excellent illustration of the wide scope and varied methods of social biology in application to a preliterate group. Coupling an intensive field study with a discriminating use of the relevant literature, Dr. Sonnabend has clearly described and analyzed the functional rôle of the demographic policies of the Bantu tribes.

The basic population doctrine which both tacitly and expressly underlies much of the organized behavior of the Bantu may be termed "the principle of maximum demographic returns": "The reason for the existence of laws, usages, and customs related in any way with matrimonial, familial or sexual life generally is found in the conviction that they contribute, directly or indirectly, to the numerical increase of the group." Though this version may appear overly rationalized, it constitutes not the end-result of this research but only the focus of chief interest. And in fact the author does show that many sectors of the Bantu social organization are integrated about this fundamental norm.

Thus, the dominant element of their religious system is ancestor-worship which institutionalizes and "intensifies the desire for children" (p. 43). Childlessness is a sin against the ancestral spirits who justifiably "resent" such a hiatus in descent. In the political sphere, the same tendency prevails. Among most of these tribes, the bachelor is barred from the council of men; only fathers having full rights of "citizenship." Warfare serves the same demographic ideal to some extent: the rapid absorption and complete assimilation of subjected populations being favored by the conquering chieftains. It is not maintained that the emphasis upon large families is simply of an ideal order. It is demonstrable (and largely recognized by the Bantu themselves) that, under the conditions which they live, numerous progeny constitute an economic asset.

Given the principle of exogamy, the practice of *uku-lobola* (bride-price) insures the group against the loss of potential reproduction, since each clan can, through purchase, always obtain potential mothers from another. Various other



matrimonial practices, e.g., the sororate, serve a similar demographic end. So well integrated are these varied customs that Dr. Sonnabend is led to suggest that the system is in this sense more fundamentally logical (to say nothing of being more elaborate) than the corresponding systems among European peoples. In many different respects also (cf. pp. 108, 340 ff.), the social status of the individual is fixed by his place in furthering the demographic increase of the group, "by his participation in the reproductive process." However, as Dr. Sonnabend rightly indicates, this integration is not complete. For example, the rigid system of exogamy tends to break down in so far as it runs counter to the system of "bovine capitalism." In this connection, it may be remarked that the author seems to exaggerate the degree of integration about the demographic norm: the presence of infanticide, abortion, means of preventing conception, antagonism against "too many" children, and similar beliefs and practices, whatever their ostensible purpose, can scarcely be reconciled with the principle of maximum demographic returns.

Not the least significant contribution of this work is the compilation of population statistics (birth rate, infant mortality rate, etc.) pertaining to the Bantu tribes. Despite the many crudities and limitations of the data—which are duly considered by the author—several ingenious procedures led to the assembling of statistics which seem to serve as a rough approximation. It is partly these materials which enabled Dr. Sonnabend to conclude that there impends, among the Bantu, a breakdown of social stability and demographic balance due to the socio-economic "revolution" which has followed continued contact with white civilization.

This is a monograph of the first order and demonstrates clearly the fruitful possibilities of painstaking research in a far too little cultivated field.

Harvard University

ROBERT K. MERTON

*Country Life Programs.* By Carl C. Taylor and others. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936. Pp. 131. \$1.50.

Members of the American Country Life Association chose for the general theme of their discussions at their eighteenth annual conference in Columbus, Ohio, September 19-22, 1935, "Country Life Programs." The 10 chief papers presented at the conference are now published under this title. In the midst of so much New Deal planning for agriculture, it was timely for the members of the conference to discuss programs of social planning for agriculture.

The discussions of the several sessions of the conference centered around three aspects of rural life—population movements affecting the farm family, current programs for the improvement of country life, and decisions significant for the future of agriculture. President Carl C. Taylor, long one of the most active members of the conference, and now Chief of the Division of Farm Population

and Rural Life led with a challenging address, "What Kind of Rural Life Can We Look Forward to in the United States?" After noting features and trends towards peasant and commercial farming he "predicts that we will build a rural culture which will be a mixture of some of the characteristics of peasantry, some of the characteristics of modern commercialism, industrialism, and urbanism, and some new characteristics which will result from the combining of these two cultures." He concluded that rural social welfare and security demand the family farm, a high percentage of ownership, and the "benign influence of folk culture."

Other rural sociologists presenting papers were Warren S. Thompson on "Population Movements Affecting the Welfare of the Farm Family," and C. J. Galpin on "My Philosophy of Rural Life." E. L. Kirkpatrick and Agnes Boynton summarized the discussions of the student sections of the conference in a paper, "A Satisfying Life for Rural Young People." Carroll P. Streeter discussed "Reorganizing Rural Health Facilities"; H. G. James, "The Improvement of Rural Government"; and Ernest Burnham, "Continuing Education."

Three agricultural economists gave papers on problems of economic programs and planning for rural life. J. I. Falconer explained the meaning of, and the attempts to get, "A Balanced Production Program." L. H. Bean discussed trends and tasks of "Improving and Protecting the Farm Income." M. L. Wilson in his paper told the members of the conference that the five "Great Decisions upon Which the Future of Rural Life Will Depend" in the United States are: (1) whether we are "going to have foreign markets for our normal and natural agricultural production"; (2) "the kind of continuing national governmental policy that we will have for agriculture"; (3) "the degree of voluntary organization which agriculture itself will attain"; (4) "the kind of balance which we will have as between industry and agriculture"; and (5) "the decision as to the use of the powers of government to control depressions."

The emphasis in most of the papers is on present trends, confusions, and "crossroads" decisions that must soon be made. While there are a few hints in some of the papers that the solutions lie in returning to a simpler golden age of rural life, the papers on the whole recognize the uprooting effects of an agricultural revolution and that solutions will be in new forms of rural social organization. In the opinion of the reviewer, the authors of the papers did not sufficiently stress the obstacles and difficulties to practical, planned agricultural programs in the United States: six million farmers living in widely differing agricultural sections and following many different types of farming; great differences among farmers in economic, social, and educational status; the farmers' limited understanding of the relation of their industry to other industries; the resistance of large financial and business interests to agricultural programs that affect them adversely; conflicting economic and political interests among different groups of farmers themselves; and the effectiveness of high-

powered, misleading political propaganda. But this criticism does not detract from the challenging views of our ablest country-life leaders in helping us think more clearly through the present baffling problems of our rural life.

State College of Washington

FRED R. YODER

*The American Farmer and the Export Market.* By Austin A. Dowell and Oscar B. Jesness. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1934. Pp. viii, 269. \$2.00.

The authors of this book have long been associated with agricultural development in the United States, especially in the Northwest. At present they are connected with the Minnesota Experiment Station, Professor Dowell being in charge of the Northwest branch station, while Professor Jesness is head of the department of agricultural economics at St. Paul. Both were formerly in the service of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. Both have written extensively on agricultural subjects.

The book may be divided into four parts. In the first division the authors discuss the farm resources and production possibilities of the United States and examine the export surplus. In the second, the present status and the possibilities of the home market are considered. The third part takes up the export situation, and includes a discussion of possible means for its improvement. The final chapter, under the heading "What of the Future," is somewhat in the nature of a summary, with recommendations regarding an agricultural policy.

"This book deals with present day economic nationalism in relation to American agriculture," state the authors. "We have been moved to write it by a deep seated conviction that in thinking about foreign markets many people fail to give adequate consideration to all sides of a problem which, to say the least, is far from simple. Our aim has been to show the place of foreign markets in American agricultural trade, and to consider the consequences of abandonment or drastic curtailment of these outlets. We have sought to marshall the facts relating to the question, and to employ sound economic reasoning in the interpretations that have been made. . . . The important thing is that we face the facts as they are, not imagine they are what we would like them to be." The authors appear strongly in favor of concerted efforts, by the various nations, to break down economic nationalism and to lower tariff walls everywhere. "Trade restrictions and barriers are fully as much man-made as are surpluses, and efforts to overcome existing difficulties should take account of the former as well as the latter."

The book is written in readable style. There are frequent citations to authorities. An index makes the material readily available. It was written while the AAA was still in effect, and reflects that point of view. No student of agricultural policy will consider his reading complete until he has examined this volume.

University of Tennessee

CHARLES E. ALLRED

*Everyday Problems of the Country Teacher.* Revised edition. By Frank J. Lowth. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. Pp. xii, 625.

This revised and enlarged edition of a textbook and handbook of country school practice, first published in 1926, will prove to be very valuable and practical to experienced as well as potential rural school teachers. The replacement of seven discarded chapters with nine new ones and the revision of other chapters make the present text particularly suitable for teacher-training classes. The problems of rural school management and those closely allied to it are ably treated in 14 chapters and those on teaching and learning in 12 chapters. There is a minimum of theorizing. Virtually each chapter abounds with concrete suggestions on how to deal with the many problems that the average teacher normally encounters.

There are chapters on supervised and unsupervised play, socializing the noon-day meal, parent co-operation, social-civic meetings, personality, and citizenship in which our interdependence and human relationships are duly emphasized. The school is regarded as a social institution established for the purpose of supplementing and furthering the additional and necessary work of education which the home cannot undertake. The development of personality is considered to be the fundamental work of the American school. The author is no doubt right in asserting that "if the schools of America are to make a vital contribution to the solution of our complex social and economic problems, teachers must think less of their task in terms of classes, grades, lessons, tests, and the like, and more in terms of actual personal preparation for solving real problems of human relationships" (p. 468).

Michigan State College

J. F. THADEN

*Theodore Brinkman's Economics of the Farm Business.* English edition, translated by Elizabeth Tucker Benedict, Heinrich Hermann Stippler, and Murray Reed Benedict. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1935. Pp. x, 172. \$2.00.

This translation of the prewar work of a German agricultural economist will prove most useful to students who are interested in principles underlying regional differences in agriculture and in variations in farming systems within each region. The book consists of a short introductory chapter and two main chapters, the first of which is entitled "The Levels of Intensity in Agricultural Production and the Orientation of its Location." The second main chapter is called "Systems of Farming or the Orientation of the Locations of Lines of Production." Obviously, the location of the lines of production, or the choice of enterprises in a farming system, is the most important method of influencing the level of farming intensity. Hence, considerable repetition in analysis results from this separation of subject matter.

According to the author, the marginal-returns principle, which is based upon the law of diminishing returns, is the main basis for the derivation of all further laws governing intensity; and "since all questions of profitableness in farming are fundamentally only questions of intensity, we may properly designate this as the fundamental law of farm management" (p. 8). Brinkman then discusses in turn the influence upon intensity of: (1) the economic location of the farm, (2) the natural conditions, (3) the stage of development of the social organization, and (4) the personal qualities of the entrepreneur. He follows Thunen's analysis in describing the effect of distance from the central market for agricultural products and production goods, but he distinguishes between "capital intensive" and "labor intensive" enterprises, and arrives at the conclusion that proximity to market favors the capital intensive enterprises, especially those using capital goods purchased in the market.

The author believes that favorableness of economic location can be gauged by differences in local prices, but that there is no similar index of favorable natural conditions. Variations in physical productivity weaken or strengthen the influence of the market on intensity of cultivation. However, the influence of physical productivity on intensity decreases with distance from the market.

A stimulating analysis is made of the influence of change in social organization on farming intensity. Such changes are divided into two classes: (1) changes in demand, and (2) changes in technique. Increases in demand, without accompanying improvement in technique, will increase the transportation part of the costs of agricultural products and production goods. The marginal units will then be produced farther from the market, thus permitting an increased intensity in all production zones nearer the market and therefore a change in the production pattern.

The author states that improvements in technique tend to increase intensity, but this results in increased supplies and consequently in lower prices, which have the opposite effect. Improvements which increase yields favor locations close to the market. Historically, improvements in transportation have been the most important. Economic location declines in importance as transportation costs are reduced. In contrast, physical differences in productivity then become more important, and more opportunities for diversification of production become available. Improvements in transportation also give relatively greater advantage to outlying areas.

Under discussion of the personal qualities of the entrepreneur the statement is made that opportunity for profit is the "motive power" in technical progress.

The key to the problem of combining farm enterprises is found in determining the point where a given enterprise just makes better use of the last unit of area than do the competing enterprises—in other words, the principle of opportunity cost. The author recognizes the supplementary and complementary rela-

tionships between farm enterprises and their effects on the farming systems in a given location.

Readers interested in theoretical analysis will find many stimulating suggestions in this brief, but somewhat intricate, treatment of the subject covered.

U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics

SHERMAN E. JOHNSON

*A Study of Special Kinds of Education for Rural Negroes.* By Maurice E. Thomasson. Charlotte, North Carolina, 1936. Pp. vi, 104. \$1.00.

In the past, factual studies of the special educational agencies serving rural Negroes have been very rare. For this reason Mr. Thomasson's study, completed under the direction of Edmund deS. Brunner as a Ph.D. thesis at Columbia University, will be welcomed by rural sociologists and all others interested in the educational problems of the rural South.

The study was made in six rural counties of Virginia. Part of the information is for 1934, only, but the activities of some agencies are traced back 22 years. All educational agencies in the six counties, other than the public schools, were considered.

The work is divided into five chapters. Chapter I states the objectives, defines the scope, and outlines the methods of the investigation. Chapter II sets forth the needs for special education—low incomes, high mortality and illegitimacy rates, large numbers of jail commitments, and high illiteracy ratios. Chapter III is a description of the agencies for special education—the Agricultural Extension Service, teachers of vocational agriculture and home economics, and the public-health nurses. In Chapter IV the programs of the different agencies are analyzed and interpreted. Chapter V, a concluding statement, makes recommendations. In the estimation of the author, Negroes in each county should be served by a county agent, a home agent, a teacher of home economics, a teacher of vocational agriculture, and a public-health nurse. Furthermore, all of these agencies should expand their interests. It would be desirable if representatives of the various agencies formed a county council. He also recommends that community organization be strengthened, and that the workers in all these agencies be given a broader preparation.

Louisiana State University

T. LYNN SMITH

# News Notes and Announcements

*American Sociological Society*:—The annual meetings of the American Sociological Society will be held at the Congress Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, December 28-30. The tentative program of the Rural Sociology Section is as follows:

## MONDAY, DECEMBER 28

10-12 A.M. Lowry Nelson, Utah State Agricultural College, Chairman

*Topic*: Effect on Future Population Prospect of Recent Public Policies

Dr. O. E. Baker, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life,  
U. S. D. A.

*Discussion*: F. W. Notestein, Princeton University

Frank Lorimer, Population Association of America

## TUESDAY, DECEMBER 29

12:30 P.M. Lowry Nelson, Utah State Agricultural College, Chairman

Joint luncheon meeting of the Section on Rural Sociology and the American  
Farm Economics Association

## WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 30

10-12 A.M. Dr. Ray E. Wakeley, Iowa State College, Chairman

*Topic*: Recent Changes in German Rural Life

Dr. John B. Holt, College of William and Mary

*Discussion*: Dr. Marie Jasny, Resettlement Administration

*Topic*: The Study of Culture Areas as a Basis of Predicting Resettlement  
Possibilities, Dr. C. E. Lively, Ohio State University

*Discussion*: P. G. Beck and Douglas Enslinger, Resettlement Administration. Region III.

In addition to the prepared program, Chairman Nelson announces that there will be an informal meeting at 3:00 P.M. Tuesday, December 29, to determine policies for the future of the journal, *Rural Sociology*.

*Colorado State College*:—The official publications are an obvious first source of information on county activities, yet they are one of the least collected groups found in libraries. Because a guide to county publications seems necessary, Mr. James G. Hodgson, librarian, Colorado State College Library, Fort Collins, Colorado, has in preparation a bibliography of official county publications. Since in most cases the location is equally as important as the fact of existence, Mr. Hodgson is making a Union-List as well.

Begun as the result of a collecting trip for the University of Chicago Libraries, and already containing full entries from libraries in the Chicago area, together

with notes made while on the trip, the list is now being typed for checking by a number of different libraries. Librarians or individuals who have good sets for any particular state—or for any single county—and would care to have them listed in the Union-List are requested to send statements of their holdings in good bibliographical form to Mr. Hodgson.

R. W. Roberts, graduate of Clemson College, has been appointed to a research fellowship in rural sociology.

Rev. C. H. Becker is a member of the instructional staff during the first semester of the year 1936-1937.

*Indiana University:*—When Dr. U. S. Weatherly, head of the department of economics and sociology, retired in June, 1935, a separate department of sociology was organized. Professor E. H. Sutherland, formerly of the University of Chicago, was made head of the department. He is continuing his research in the fields of criminology and social disorganization. Dr. John H. Mueller, formerly of the University of Oregon and F.E.R.A., research division, was made associate professor. Dr. Mueller is handling the work in social theory, statistics, and population. Another person was added to the staff in February, 1936, when Dr. Harvey J. Locke, of the University of Chicago, was appointed assistant professor. Dr. Locke is handling work in the family and personality development. Dr. A. B. Hollingshead, formerly of the University of Alabama, was appointed instructor in May, 1936, in anticipation of further growth. He is handling work in human ecology, social control, and the introductory course. Dr. Hollingshead will give a course in principles of rural sociology in the 1937 summer session, and regular work in rural sociology will begin in the fall of 1937. Mr. Alfred R. Lindesmith of the University of Chicago was appointed instructor in September, 1936. Mr. Lindesmith is handling sections of the introductory course.

During the summer of 1936, *Twenty Thousand Homeless Men*, by Edwin H. Sutherland and Harvey J. Locke, was published by J. B. Lippincott Co.

*Louisiana State University:*—Edgar A. Schuler has been granted leave of absence for the session 1936-1937 to conduct a study of the "Social Correlatives of Farm Tenure" for the Resettlement Administration.

Professor C. E. Lively of Ohio State University gave three lectures at Louisiana State University during October.

Mr. Sam R. Carter has resigned as assistant state supervisor of rural research for the Works Progress Administration in Louisiana and accepted a position with the Resettlement Administration. He is being succeeded by S. Earl Grigsby, a graduate student in rural sociology at Louisiana State University.



E. H. Lott spent part of the summer studying rural life in Mexico. He was accompanied by Carle C. Zimmerman of Harvard.

*Oklahoma A. and M. College:*—A department of sociology and country life has been established at the Oklahoma A. and M. College. The new department combines the work in general sociology, which was formerly in the department of economics, and rural sociology, which was formerly in the department of agricultural economics. It also includes the home economics research in rural life. Professor O. D. Duncan heads the department. In addition to Professor Duncan, the staff includes Associate Professors J. F. Page, E. M. Day, and Grace Fernandes, and research assistants Leva Conner and Mattie Faye McCollum.

For the year 1936-1937, Miss Fernandes is on sabbatical leave doing graduate work at the University of Chicago.

Miss McCollum is now serving as assistant state supervisor of rural research for the Works Progress Administration.

*Population Association of America:*—The Population Association of America held its fifth annual meeting at Princeton University, October 30 and 31. Discussions centered about population distribution and internal migration, studies of differential fertility, and population mapping. Papers which were prepared for the meeting are published as the November issue of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Copies of this issue of the *Annals* may be secured from the Academy at the price of \$2.00.

O. E. Baker of the division of Farm Population and Rural Life read a paper on the significance of population trends to American agriculture.

C. E. Lively of Ohio State University was elected to the board of directors of the Association.

*Social Science Research Council:*—The Social Science Research Council announces that special Southern Grants-in-Aid will be awarded in the spring of 1937. These grants are available to mature scholars permanently residing in the area including Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas.

The grants are available to mature scholars without reference to age, who hold the doctor's degree or whose capacity for productive research has been effectively demonstrated by their writings. The grants are not open to candidates for a degree. They are offered by the Council especially with a view to assisting members of the staffs of Southern institutions which can not at present provide adequate funds for social science research, and are designed to aid in completing rather than initiating projects.

The purposes for which the grants may be expended include the investigators' living expenses while in the field, travel involved in the investigation, stenographic, clerical, or statistical assistance, printing, stationery and photostating, but ordinarily they may not be used for travel to attend scientific meetings, or to purchase books, manuscript materials, or laboratory apparatus. Grants may not be given to aid in the publication of manuscripts.

Preference will be given to applicants who can offer assurance that the institution to which the applicant is attached will lend its co-operation in case he receives a grant. This co-operation may include such items as reduction of the applicant's teaching load, relief from committees and other routine, library aid, typing and clerical assistance, printing and mimeographing, travel aid, and supplementary grants.

The maximum granted by the Council will not exceed \$500. It is expected that any grant awarded will be expended prior to December 31 of the year in which the grant is made, and that a full report on the use of the funds will be made to the Secretary.

The closing date for receipt of applications on forms provided by the Grant-in-Aid Secretary for 1937-1938 is January 5, 1937.

Grants will be announced April 1, 1937.

In making initial inquiry, please indicate previous research experience, nature of project, and amount of aid required. It is requested that application blanks be secured well in advance of January 5, 1937, in order that there may be ample time to fill out and return them before that date.

*Texas A. and M. College:*—Realizing the strategic importance of the farm tenure question at this time, the division of farm and ranch economics of the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station has drawn up plans for an exhaustive study of farm-leasing systems in the state. This study is planned to run, if necessary, over a period of five years. Every important phase of the problem will be studied in a scientific manner.

Plans for the study include: (1) Analysis of the distribution of farm income and types of farm leases from existing farm management records. (2) Reconnaissance survey and conferences with representative farmers in order to obtain general information and attitudes concerning present leasing arrangements. The results of this preliminary survey will be of help in maturing the plans and guiding the procedure for the general study. (3) Detailed studies in the major type-of-farming areas of the state. The types and characteristics of different farm-leasing systems will be studied in relation to the four major objectives previously described. In addition to the usual farm financial data, information will be secured from each farm, showing the contribution of the farm to the family living, and related insofar as possible to the different types of leases represented. Also, the family income and its distribution, as well as the general

level of living, will be analyzed in relation to the different types of farm leases. And (4) tentative conclusions with respect to leasing agreements will be discussed with groups of farm owners and operators to insure a full consideration of significant factors involved. In this connection, we wish to invite suggestions from those interested in this project.

The co-operation of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration has been obtained on this project, which will facilitate and broaden the scope of the investigation.

Mr. E. J. Holcomb, a graduate of Texas A. and M. College, has accepted a position as assistant agricultural economist with the Tenure-Labor Relations Section, Division of Program Planning of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. Mr. Holcomb is representing the Agricultural Adjustment Administration in the co-operative study of farm-leasing systems in Texas.

*Virginia Polytechnic Institute:*—The Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station began on the first of July, under the direction of W. E. Garnett, a project entitled, "A Study of the High Degree of Marginality among Virginia's Rural Population." The project will be divided into a number of subunits and will be continued over several years. The chief point of focus in the first subunit is trends in differential birth rates of the several social strata groups, vertical circulation, and the role of heredity in producing marginality. In studying this aspect of the subject much environmental data is also being collected and considered. The procedures include the collection and analysis of the record of a number of family strains for a century and a half to note their vertical social circulation tendencies. Special attention is being given to the influences which seem to account for substrains going up or down the social scale. Since Virginia society is highly stratified and since records going back to colonial times are fairly well preserved, this is proving a very fertile field of study.

Data collected in connection with other studies indicate that over 100,000 white families, or approximately one-half of the white rural population of Virginia, may be classed as marginal from the standpoint of income, education, and living standards. Our mimeographed circulars, "Does Virginia Care?" and "A State Challenge," giving preliminary reports on the data in question, awakened wide interest in the marginal population problem. They led the State Planning Board to set up a special marginal population committee to work out policies for dealing with the problem. This committee includes in its membership some of the state's most outstanding educational, social, farm, business, and organizational leaders. W. E. Garnett, rural sociologist of the Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station, is also serving as chairman of this committee.

*Western Farm Economics Association:*—For the first time in the history of the organization, one session of the annual meeting of the Western Farm

Economics Association, held at Laramie, Wyoming, July 30-August 1, was devoted to rural sociology. Paul H. Landis of Washington State College discussed "Selected Population Problems of the Western States in Relation of Agricultural Adjustment"; Carl F. Kraenzel of Montana State discussed "Standards of Living During a Period of Agricultural Adjustment"; and Olaf F. Larson, Colorado State College, presented a paper on "Rural Relief and Agricultural Adjustment." These papers are being published in the annual proceedings of the Western Farm Economics Association.

## Books Received

- The Social History of American Agriculture.* By Joseph Schafer. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. Pp. ix, 302. \$2.50.
- After the New Deal What?* By Norman Thomas. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. Pp. ix, 244. \$2.00.
- The Theory of the Land Question.* By George Raymond Geiger. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. Pp. xi, 237. \$2.00.
- Whose Constitution: An Inquiry into the General Welfare.* By Henry A. Wallace. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1936. Pp. 336. \$1.75.
- Everyday Problems of the Country Teacher.* By F. J. Lowth. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. Pp. xii, 625. \$2.25.
- Who Owns America?* By Herbert Agar and Allen Tate. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1936. Pp. x, 342. \$3.00.
- Preface to Peasantry.* By Arthur F. Raper. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Pp. xiii, 423. \$3.50.
- Elements of Farm Management.* By John A. Hopkins. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1936. Pp. xvii, 390. \$2.20.
- Migration and Economic Opportunity.* By Carter Goodrich and Others. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936. Pp. xvii, 763. \$5.00.
- Studies of Differential Fertility in Sweden.* By Karl Arvid Edin and Edward P. Hutchinson. London: P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 1935. Pp. 116.
- 4-H Club Work in the Life of Rural Youth.* By Mary Eva Duthie. National Committee on Boys and Girls' Club Work, Chicago, 1936. Pp. 124.
- Il fattore demografico nell' organizzazione sociale dei Bantu.* By Enrico H. Sonnabend. Rome: Arti Grafiche Zamperini e Lorenzini, 1935. Pp. 414. Lire 37.





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